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TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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Regional Nationalism in Twentieth Century Tamil Literature

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The nature and scope of language nationalism in India and Ceylon have been frequently the subject of comment both by foreigners and natives. While Sahitya Academies (Literary Academies) attempt through translations to interpret one regional culture and one regional literature to another, and bring together within the boards of the same volume the literary output of different regional groups, the prophets of doom and the pundits of uniformity see in regional language revivals a threat to national unity. The postulates of national unity enunciated by the two paramount ideologies in this field are rather conflicting. One assumes that unity can be achieved only on the basis of a total and all inclusive uniformity; the other believes in a language and cultural pluralism which will build the unity of the nation on non-controversial foundations about which there is general consent. The essential constitutive element of a multi-lingual, multi-religious nation is neither language nor religion; in the case of India or Ceylon, a common territory and the psychological "will to live together" have more to commend themselves as the basis of the nation, than the factors which pronounce difference.[1]

CONSTITUTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE NATION

We are, perhaps unconsciously but gradually moving towards a world language as we are moving towards a world government, but neither the world language nor

1. **On the constitutive elements of a Nation, see KOHN HANS,** *Nationalism in the 18th century,* **HERTZ FREDERICK,** ***Nationalism,,*** **Kegan Paul, London.**

world government is thought of, for the present, as being achieved by the complete disappearance of all languages but one, or by the complete surrender of the sovereignty of single States. T. S. Eliot made the best plea for national cultures within the large Nation, and the aims of UNESCO in some measure enunciate the same plea. Eliot states, in effect, that the preservation of all languages with their respective cultures is in the best interests of those very groups which seek to destroy or stultify or weaken the languages and cultures of groups politically not as powerful. The ***Notes on the Definition of Culture*** is a book which the advocates as well as the victims of repressive language laws and of subtle undermining movements should study and ponder. Would that the extremists realised that one is not less Indian or less Ceylonese for one's allegiance to one's mother-tongue and to the culture complex within which one is born. Says T. S. Eliot:

> "The unity of culture, in contrast to the unity of political organisation, does not require us all to have only one loyalty; it means that there will be a variety of loyalties. It is wrong that the only duty of the individual should be held to be towards the State; it is fantastic to hold that the supreme duty of every individual should be towards a super-state."[2]

To the vast majority of twentieth century Tamil writers a dual loyalty, to the Region and to the Nation, or to the nation (Tamil) and the Nation (Indian or Ceylonese) are not conflicting loyalties.[3] They produce no contradiction and no ambivalance. The two loyalties are the two foci about which are described their

2. **Eliot, T. S.,** *Notes on the Definition of Culture.*

3. **Eliot, T. S.,** *Notes on the Definition of Culture,* **Statements on regionalism.**

ellipse of total patriotism and loyalty. But this statement has to be qualified, and that is the purpose of this outline study.

RENAISSANCE WRITERS

Sundaram Pillai (1855-1897) earlier than the dawn of the century saluted India as the face of the ***Mater Terrena***, the Deccan as the forehead and the ***Alma Mater Tamulica*** as the fragrant ***tilak*** on that forehead, and inaugurated the century's Tamil attitude towards India and the Tamil country. In lines to be quoted ceaselessly during the Tamil Renaissance, he saluted the antiquity of the ***Alma Mater Tamulica*** who had given birth to the other Dravidian languages, and who though equally ancient as Sanskrit remained young and vigorous while Sanskrit has ceased to be a living language of every day use.[4] The burden of these lines has been a recurrent theme during the last sixty years and has not been superseded even now as the main undertone of patriotic Tamil writing.

The Tamil Revivalist scholars, the chief representatives of which early in the century were Maraimalai Adigal (1876-1950) in letters, and J. M. Nallaswami Pillai (1864-1920) in Saiva Siddantha philosophy, were most concerned with obtaining due recognition for the characteristic contributions made to Indian and World Culture by the Tamil language, literature, philospophy and religion. They were not greatly concerned with political loyalties. They strove to remove the prejudice which had grown during recent centuries, namely, that the Tamil language and thought were dependent on Brahmin thought and on Sanskrit literature. Maraimalai Adigal was not even enamoured of the prospect of independence for India. He was of the opinion that

4 மனோன்மணீயம்

the British administration might ensure greater justice and fair play than a native administration in which the upper classes might oppress the lower. Secluded and retired scholar that he was, Maraimalai Adigal generally lived outside the ambit of political movements.

The writers who are very much involved in this dual loyalty to the region and the larger political unit, are the Tamil poets and essayists of the independence movement. The political movement for independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi brought about a unification of Indian sentiment and interest among the various language territories which made itself evident in the poetry and prose of the period. The Tamil writers take pride not only in the heritage of India, in its great literature, art and sculpture and in its Dharma, but also in the achievements of their brilliant North Indian compatriots like Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), Swami Vivekananda (1862-1902), Lokhamanya Tilak (1856-1920), and Gokhale (1866-1915). They hold up to their readers, like the writers of other parts of India, the vision of an India one and undivided, free from the tyranny of the foreigner, free to develop its own resources and bring a golden age of plenty to the masses of the people. They envisage popular education, economic self-sufficiency, purified religion and social equality for the whole of India and for Indians all over the world. The evils prevalent in India are evils intrinsically attendant on foreign rule, and once the yoke is cast off, prosperity is assured with freedom, and the Indian El Dorado is nigh.

NATIONALISM IN POETRY

Subramanya Bharati (1882-1921), as the poet of Tamil patriotism, envisages this unification of India and the interprovincial pooling of her resources with lyrical enthusiasm. Malayalee damsels will be sporting on the

moonlit Indus to the accompaniment of songs sung in musical Telugu. The betel leaves of the Kaveri basin will be exchanged for the wheat of the Gangetic plain, and to the brave Mahratti poets will be given in recognition of their verse the ivory tusks of elephants from the forests of Kerala. A way will be found to have the learned disquisitions of philosophers in Benares heard in Southern Kanjeepuram; and for the warriors of Rajasthan, medals will be beaten of gold from the Kannada mines. Poverty in India will vanish once there is industrialisation and the factories produce the foods which an Indian merchant navy will carry to the four corners of the world.

" சிந்து நதியின்மிசை நிலவினிலே
சேரநன் னாட்டிளம் பெண்களுடனே
சுந்தரத் தெலுங்கினில் பாட்டிசைத்துத்
தோணிக ளோட்டிவிளை யாடிவருவோம் ;

"கங்கை நதிப்புறத்துக் கோதுமைப்பண்டம்
காவிரி வெற்றிலைக்கு மாறுகொள்ளுவோம் ;
சிங்க மராட்டியர்தம் கவிதைகொண்டு
சேரத்துத் தந்தங்கள் பரிசளிப்போம்;

"காசி நகர்ப்புலவர் பேசும்உரைதான்
காஞ்சியில் கேட்பதற்கோர் கருவிசெய்வோம்;
ராசபுத் தானத்து வீரர்தமக்கு
நல்லியற் கன்னடத்துத் தங்கம்அளிப்போம்."[5]

In the poems in which he hypostatises India as a Mother and Queen, Bharati, steeped as he was in the literature and history of India, is conscious, as few Indian poets of the twentieth century are, of the multisided contribution with which India has enriched the world. The unique features of the Himalayas and the Ganges and India's natural

5. *பாரதியார் கவிதைகள், பாரத தேசம், பாரதி பதிப்பகம், சென்னை—17. பக் 5—7.* On Bharati, see P. MAHADEVAN, *Subramania Bharati*, Atri Publisher, Madras—1957.

resources, the antiquity of her cultural contribution and its unbroken continuity, her religious thought in the Upanishads, the different religious leaders to whom she has given birth; her music, her art, and her historic warriors, and contemporary political leaders come in for a full measure of delirious pride and enthusiasm. To Mother India he attributes a Maternity and a Virginity which he has heard in the Tamil tradition attributed to Tamil. Even the gods who know the details of the past know not the date when Mother India came into being for she is timeless and ageless. Though so ancient a Mother, yet she appears as young as a Virgin to the contempoiary world. Like Durga, she is a goddess with three hundred million faces but with one principle of life, with eighteen tongues but with one mind.

> " தொன்று நிகழ்ந்த தனைத்தும் உணர்ந்திடு
> சூழ்கலை வாணர்களும்—இவள்
> என்று பிறந்தவள் என்றுண ராத
> இயல்பின ளாம்எங்கள் தாய்.
>
> "யாரும் வகுத்தற் கரிய பிராயத்த
> ளாயினு மேயெங்கள் தாய்—இந்தப்
> பாருள்எந் நாளுமோர் கன்னிகை என்னப்
> பயின்றிடு வாள்எங்கள் தாய்.
>
> "முப்பது கோடி முகமுடை யாள்உயிர்
> மொய்ம்புற வொன்றுடையாள்—இவள்
> செப்பு மொழிபதி னெட்டுடை யாள்,எனிற்
> சிந்தனை ஒன்றுடையாள்."[6]

Endowed by Nature and enriched by human achievements, the Indian legacy is incomparable, says Bharati.

6. பாரதியார் கவிதைகள், எங்கள் தாய், பாரத தேசம், பாரத நாடு, பாரத மாதா etc., பாரதி பதிப்பகம், சென்னை—17

Namakkal Ramalingam (1888-) who was the Tamil Poet of Independence during the more active phase of the Indian independence movement inherits Bharati's All-India outlook. Often he paraphrases in popular language the topics and ideas Bharati sang in lyrical and elegant poetry. India is the home which God has built for Indians between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin and the two seas :

" இந்திய நாடிது என்னுடை நாடு
　　என்று தினந்தினம் நீயதைப் பாடு ...
கன்னி இமயக் கடலிடை நாடு
　　கடவுள் எமக்கெனக் கட்டிய வீடு."[7]

In his salutation to Mother India, Ramalingam apostrophizes her multilingual skill, aud like Bharati finds in the many languages of India a source of great pride :

'பாஷைகள் பற்பல படித்தவள் நீயே.'

He writes of the greatness of the political and intellectual leaders of twentieth century India, and identifies himself with them as any other Indian of his day. Like Bharati, he also has verses dedicated to the life and achievements of Mahatma Gandhi, and other all-India leaders like Nehru, Tilak, Naoroji, Patel, Gokhale, Ramakrishna and Tagore. The great names of Tamil literature, the epics, devotional and ethical literature, all lead but to Gandhism, and therefore Tamil Nad should live Gandhism and propagate Gandhism. In the Indian leaders, Ramalingam realises the ideals so insistently outlined by Tamil thought. Mahatma Gandhi is Thiruvalluvar born again, and is the living Tirukkural.

7. நாமக்கல் ராமலிங்கம், தமிழன் இதயம், என்னுடை நாடு, மைலாப்பூர், 1956, பக். 84.

"தெள்ளியநல் அறங்களையே தெளிவாய்ச் சொல்லித்
 திணையளவும் பிசகாமல் நடந்து காட்ட
வள்ளுவனே மறுபடியும் வந்தான் என்ன
 வழிகாட்டித் திருக்குறளை வாழ்ந்த வள்ளல்
பிள்ளைமனப் பேரறிஞன் பெம்மான் காந்தி
 பெருநெறியே தமிழ்த்தாயின் பேச்சா மென்று
கள்ளமற நாமறிந்து கொள்வோ மானால்
 காத்திடலாம் தமிழ்மொழியை; வளர்ச்சி காணும்."[8]

NATIONALISM IN PROSE

As the editor of a newspaper Tiru. V. Kaliyanasundara Mudaliyar (1883-1953) had the opportunity to educate his Tamil readers constantly in the cultural unity of India imposed by a common past and common achievements. He reminds his readers of Indian achievement in the sciences, in medicine, in the fine arts and in statecraft. Asokan Dharma extended even to the Tamil kingdoms, and certain Indian Emperors conferred a kind of political unity to India long before the coming of the British. He exhorts the Tamils to patriotism and disinterested service of country like the other provinces of India, chiefly Bengal. He is at pains to gloss over irksome historical questions which accentuate differences between the Dravidians and the Aryans, and concludes compromisingly that the Dravidians and the Aryans combined to form one Indian people and one Indian culture. Perhaps both Tamil and Sanskrit are derived from the same original Prakrit speech found all over India.

"கங்கையும் யமுனையும் இரண்டற்று ஒன்றிக் கலந்து ஓடுவதுபோலத் திராவிடர் நாகரிகமும் ஆரியர் நாகரிகமும் ஒன்றுபட்டு நாட்டில் ஓடுகின்றன என்று கவி

8. நாமக்கல் ராமலிங்கம், தமிழன் இதயம், தமிழ்த்தேன், மைலாப்பூர். 1956. பக். 16.

தாகூர் கூறியது ஈண்டு நினைவுக்கு வருகிறது. ஆகவே, முற்கால இந்தியர் யார் என்னுங்கேள்விக்கு என்ன விடை இறுப்பது? திராவிடரும் ஆரியருங்கலந்த ஓரினத்தவரே முற்கால இந்தியர் என்ற விடை இறுக்கலாம்."[9]

"இந்திய மொழிகளில் பழையது திராவிடம். அஃது இந்நாளில் இந்தியாவில் ஒரு பகுதியில் மட்டும் வளம் பெற்று நிற்கிறது. அதனிடத்தில் (நாடு முழுவதும்) பழமை பெற்று விளங்குவது சம்ஸ்கிருதம். இரண்டும் பிராகிருதத்தினின்று பிறந்தவை என்று கூறும் ஆராய்ச்சியாளருமுளர். அங்ஙனமாயின், பிராகிருதம் இந்தியாவின் தொன்மை மொழியாய்ப் பொலிந்திருத்தல் வேண்டும்." [10]

There was not in the Tamil country a greater admirer and disciple of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings than Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar. Through his writings, more than through the platform oratory of Congress politicians, the Tamil-reading people came to know of the doctrines of Gandhi and the greatness of the Indian contribution in contemporary and ancient India. His books on Mahatma Gandhi and Indian indèpendence were standard sources of information for Tamil readers until better documented books were recently published on these subjects.

In the more recent period, even those not directly involved in political movements and social reform like the poet, Desigavinayagam Pillai (1876-1954) and the master of sweet Tamil prose, R. P. Sethu Pillai (1896-1961), should be counted among those writers who emphasised the cultural unity of India. Desigavinayagam Pillai took great pride in the religious

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9, 10. திரு. வி. க. இந்தியாவின் விடுதலை, சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், சென்னை—14.

contribution of India, particularly in that of Hinduism and Buddhism, while Sethu Pillai found an all pervasive unity in Indian culture, and in religious pilgrimages which brought together the north and the south.

> "There are two Mathurais, one in the north, the other in the south; there were two Pataliputras, one in the north the other in the south; there is a Kasi in the north, a Tenkasi in the south". "Bharat" says Sethu Pillai, "is a land of ancient glory. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin there are several languages, several religions. Nevertheless the culture of India is one."[11]

LANGUAGE LOYALTY

These same writers who consistently advocated the unity of India and find inspiration in the culture and literature and political leadership emanating from other regions of India, are equally loyal to the ideas of the unique place of Tamil culture and Tamil literature, and will not suffer any displacement of Tamil either by Sanskrit or by any other language of India. Like India, Tamil too is ancient, begot by the Eternal Siva himself, and though ancient yet as young and fresh a Virgin as to attract the attention of the world. That in spite of its hoary antiquity, Tamil continues to be a living language of more than thirty million people spread over a large geographical area, a distinction of combined antiquity and modernity enjoyed by hardly any other language in the world, is a fact which has provided inspiration to the Tamil renaissance.

The extent and variety of Tamil literary works and their beauty are recurrent themes in Bharati and

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11. ரா. பி. சேதுப்பிள்ளை, தமிழ் இன்பம், பழனியப்பா பிரதர்ஸ், சென்னை—5.

in the poets and prose writers of the century. Subramaniya Bharati is as much Tamil as he is Indian. The *Mater Tamulica* is even nearer to him than the *Mater Indica*. His delirious joy is not only in the literary wealth of Tamil but also in the concept of Tamil Nad as a distinct linguistic entity with a historic past which included an overseas empire, and a historic propagation of commerce and culture in South East Asia. With the devotion of a bakthi poet, Bharati sings in no unmistakable terms:

> "Tamil Nad, thy name is honey to my ears".
>
> "Of languages I know, there's none sweeter than Tamil; of poets I know, there is none in the world so great as Kamban, as Valluvar, as Ilanko."
>
> "The epic, Silappatikaram, lies like a garland around Tamil Nad."

If Bharati had sung no verses other than these three most well-known poems on Tamil, he would yet be deserving of the title of poet, for these poems are of supreme lyrical beauty and honied sweetness.

> "The poems of sweet Tamil should be made known the world over."

> "Of what gain is the repetition of ancient tales merely in the privacy of Tamil gatherings? If ours is consummate learning and culture, the world outside should bow its head in reverence." [12]

"Tamil has the same historical status as Sanskrit, and Tamil can well be the vehicle of modern thought, and must be the medium of government and of education. Tamil Nad has been in the forefront even of Indian Renaissance; it gave recognition to Swami

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12. Paraphrases of quotable lines from Bharati's Poems about Tamil.

Vivekananda even before Bengal gave him due recognition."[13]

RAMALINGAM'S DILEMMA

To Namakkal Ramalingam (1888 -) there is hardly any virtue in which the Tamil has not distinguished himself and hardly any science or art for which Tamil Nad has not been famous. But the Tamils should imitate the language and culture patriotism of the Bengalees which gave the opportunity to Tagore. In verses supporting the demand for vocal recitals sung to Tamil words instead of to Telugu words, Ramalingam is outspoken in his language patriotism, which he says, intends no harm to any other language. The Tamil has welcomed every language which came into his country, but could he welcome movements which may result in the decline of his own arts?

" வந்தளந்தப் பிறமொழிக்கும் வரவு கூறி
வகைசெய்து வாழ்வளித்து வரிசை யெல்லாம்
தந்தவர்கள் தமிழரைப்போல் வேறு யாரும்
தாரணியில் இணைசொல்லத் தகுவா ருண்டோ?
அந்தப்பெருங் குணத்திலின்னும் குறைவோ மில்லை.
ஆனாலும் தமிழினங்கள் வாழ வேண்டின்
சொந்தமொழிக் கலைகளெல்லாம் சுருங்கித் தேயப்
பார்த்திருந்து சோம்புவது அறிவோ சொல்வீர்?

" நாதமெனும் பிரமத்தைப் பணிவோம், ஆனால்
நாமறியா மொழியில்நமக் கேது நாதம்?
காதலால் தாய்மொழியைக் காப்ப தன்றிக்
கடுகளவும் பிறமொழிமேற் கடுப்ப தல்ல."[14]

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13 பாரதி நூல்கள். — பக்கம் 229.
ஆனால் அந்த நாகரிகத்தில் முதல் முதலாக இவ்விரண்டு பாஷைகளிலேதான் உயர்ந்த கவிதையும், இலக்கியங்களும், சாஸ்திரங்களும் ஏற்பட்டன. மற்ற பாஷைகளின் இலக்கிய நெறிகள் இவற்றுக்குப் பின்னே சமைந்தன. பல இடங்களில் இவை இயற்றின நடையையே முன் மாதிரியாகக் கொண்டன. அதாவது, ஆரியரும் தமிழருமே உலகத்தில் முதன்முதலாக உயர்ந்த நாகரிகப் பதவி பெற்ற ஜாதியார். இங்ஙனம் முதன்முதலாக நாகரிகம் பெற்ற இவ்விரண்டு வகுப்பினரும் மிகப்பழைய நாட்களிலேயே ஹிந்து மதம என்ற கயிற்றால் கட்டுண்டு ஒரே கூட்டத்தாராகிய செய்தி பூமண்டலத்தில் சரித்திரத்திலேயே மிக விசேஷமும் நலமும் பொருந்திய செய்திகளில் ஒன்றாகக் கணித்தற்குரியது.

14. இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை, தமிழன் இதயம். தமிழ் இசை, அருணை பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராயநகரம், சென்னை—16, பக். 158—159.

Ramalingam would repeat daily like a mantra "India is my country," but he would repeat as often with the same fervour and devotion, "Tamil Nad is my country":

> " முத்தமிழ் நாடென்றன் முன்னையர் நாடு
> முற்றிலும் சொந்தம் எனக்கெனப் பாடு."[15]

To those whose fear and consequent dislike of Hindi led to agitation, and the antagonism to Brahminism led to the burning of classics like the Ramayanam and to iconoclasticism, Ramalingam uses the argument of tolerance and the power of resistance inherent in the Tamil language for survival. Here his line of argument is different from the one he employed in the case of the use of Telugu words in vocal recitals. It is apparent that there is some sense of dilemma and hesitation, a refusal to face the problem fairly and squarely, but he is convinced that Hindi will not be imposed or introduced to the point at which it constitutes a danger to the survival, nay, to the highest development possible of Tamil. Further, he argues, the Tamil kingdoms were language and revenue kingdoms but Indian culture is one, and the Tamils were not separatists in the Indian situation. They have been most hospitable to ideas and influences even as their doors have been open to guests as Megasthenes has observed. Tamil grammar has legislated for the inclusion of loan words :

> " தலைவாசற் கதவினுக்குத் தாள்பூட்டே
> இல்லாத தமிழ்நா டென்று
> பலதேசம் சுற்றிவந்த மகஸ்தனிசும்
> புகழ்ந்துரைத்த பழைய நாடு "[16]

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15. இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை, தமிழன் இதயம், என்னுடை நாடு, அருணா பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராயநகரம், சென்னை—17, பக். 85

16. இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை. தமிழன் இதயம், தமிழ் நாடு எது ? தமிழன் யார் ?—அருணா பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராய நகரம், சென்னை-17, பக், 107,

" ஈங்குவட இமயம்வரை இந்தியரின்
நாகரிகம் ஒன்றே யாகும்;
தாங்கள்ஒரு தனியென்று தடைபோட்டுத்
தருக்கினவர் தமிழர் அல்லர்.

"திசைச்சொல்லுக் கென்றுதனி இடங்கொடுத்தார்
இலக்கணத்தில் தெரிந்த முன்னோர்;
இசைச்சொல்ல இதைப்போல வேறுமொழிக்
கிலக்கண நூல் எங்கே? காட்டு. [17]

" இந்திமொழி வந்ததென்று இகழ்ந்துரைப்போர்
தமிழ்நாட்டின் பெருமை எண்ணார்."[18]

THE MATRIX OF CULTURE

The newspaper editorials and essays, and the platform addresses of Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar now published as collections under the titles of *Tamil Colai* and *Tamil Tentral* are clarion calls to a Tamil revival by the study of literature and culture, and compare Tamils' indifference to their mother-tongue with the deliberate progress achieved by speakers of other languages in Northern India. Over and over again Kalyanasundaranar recalls the characteristics of the Tamil language, its literature and its great achievements, and bemoans the lack of interest in the study of Tamil among educated English-speaking Tamils, and the incapacity of Tamil pundits to lead a Tamil renaissance. The study of the ancient Tamil classics will bring about a renaissance of the moral life and greater sensitivity to Truth, Justice and Ahimsa. If the Tamils are to attain once again the heights of glory reached by their ancestors, they will have to engage in several fields of activity. But the most

17-18 இராமலிங்கம் பிள்ளை, தமிழன் இதயம், தமிழ்நாடு எது? தமிழன் யார்?—அருணா பப்ளிகேஷன்ஸ், தியாகராய நகரம், சென்னை—17, பக். 108.

basic of these activities, and the one which should have priority is love of the mother-tongue or language patriotism. Look at other language groups in India. The Bangalees love their language. Love of the Mahrathi language is the basis of the Mahrathi service to their country. The Andhras are forging ahead in love of the mother-tongue. Would the Tamil Nad Congress deliver its welcome address at an All-India Congress session in Tamil as the Nagpur congress delivered its address in Hindi? Patriotism to India for the Tamils should have as its foundation the love of the Tamil language by the Tamils. If personalities like Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi have not appeared in Tamil Nad, it is because the Tamils do not love their own language. [19]

He does not object to Hindi as a common language for India, but he will not have it at the expense of Tamil. The love of Tamil is the basis of Tamil unity, since it is the common bond between the different religions and social groups of the Tamil country.

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19 "தாய் மொழியினிடத்துப் பற்றின்றி நாட்டுக்கு உரிமை பெற முயல்வது கானற்சலத்தை நாடி ஓடினவன் கதையாக முடியும். உரிமைக்காக மிகப் பரிந்து உழைக்குங் காங்கிரஸாவது தமிழ்வளங் கருதி உழைக்கிறதா? ஹிந்தி பாஷையை வளர்ப்பதைப் பற்றி நாம் குறை கூறவில்லை. பாரத நாட்டுக்கே பொதுமொழியாக ஹிந்தி நிலவ வேண்டுமென்று நாமுங் கூறுகிறோம். இதனால் தாய்மொழியாகிய தமிழைக் கொலை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று எவருங் கூறார். மயிலாபபூரில் ஒரு ஹிந்திக் கல்லூரி திறக்கப் பட்டது. அதன் திறபபு விழா அழைப்பு நமக்கு வந்தது. அதன் கண் ஒரு பக்கம் ஆங்கிலமும் மற்றொரு பக்கம் ஹிந்தியும் பொலிவதைக் கண்டேம். 'தமிழும் ஹிந்தியும் ஏன் அவ்வழைப்புத் தாளில் திகழலாகாது?' என்று எண்ணினோம். தமிழ் நாட்டில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர் இனியாவது தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கென உழைக்க முன் வருவாரோ என்று கூவி அடங்குகிறோம்.

"தமிழ்ப் பண்டிதர்கள் ஒன்றுபட்டுத் தமிழை வளர்ப்பது இந்த யுகத்தில் இல்லை. காரணங்கள் கூறின் மிக விரியும். தற்கால நாகரிக உணர்வுடைய சில தமிழ் மக்கள் தமிழ் நாட்டில் வதிகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் ஒன்று கூடித் தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆங்காங்கே கழகங்கள் கண்டு உழைப்பார்களாக.

"தாய் மொழி வளராத நாடு ஒரு நாளும் உரிமை பெறாது. தாய் மொழி நாட்டம் உரிமை நாட்டமாகும். உரிமைக்கு முதற்படி தாய் மொழியோமபும் முயற்சி. தமிழ் நாட்டார் தாய் மொழிமீது கருத்தைச் செலுத்துவாராக." *(12-10-1924)*

—திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச்சோலை அல்லது கட்டுரைத் திரட்டு (முதற் பகுதி), சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், மயிலாப்பூர், சென்னை—4. 1959, பக்கம் 21.

If there be any movements to weaken interest in Tamil or to destroy it, such movements can bring no good to the country. If independence for India be our aim, we should first of all win independence for the Tamil language. Let Tamils unite to reveal the beauty of the Tamil Mother, of the Tamil Queen, of the Tamil Goddess.

The Tamil Nad constitutes a Nation within the larger Indian Nation. Says Kalyanasundaranar :

> "தமிழ் நாடு என்றால் என்ன என்பதைப் பற்றி இரண்டோர் உரை பகர்கிறேன். தமிழ் என்பது நமது தாய் மொழி. நாடு என்பதற்கு ஆங்கிலத்தில் Land என்று மொழி பெயர்க்கிறார் சிலர். அது கூடாது. 'தமிழ் நாடு' என்பதற்கு 'Tamil Nation' என்று சொல்வேன். 'Nation என்பதற்குத் தமிழென்ன?' என்று சிலர் என்னைக் கேட்பதுண்டு. யான் 'நாடு' என்று சொல்லுவது வழக்கம். மனிதர்களின் பழக்க வழக்கம், கல்வி, அரசு, வாழ்வு, வீரம் இவைகள் எல்லாஞ் சேர்ந்த ஒன்றற்கு 'நாடு' என்று பெயர். இப்பொழுது இவைகளில் நமக்கு என்னென்ன இருக்கின்றன? நமக்கு இப்பொழுது நாடு உண்டோ? நாம் நாடு அற்றவர்களாக இருக்கிறோம். காரணம் என்ன? தாய்மொழியினிடத்தில் இடையறாத காதல் செலுத்தாமையாகும்." [20]

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20. *"நாட்டைப் பண்படுத்தும் கருவிகள் பல, அவைகளுள் சிறந்தது மொழி. ஆதலால் நாட்டவர்க்கு மொழிப்பற்று, இன்றியமையாதது. தமிழ் நாட்டில் திலகர் பெருமான், காந்தியடிகள் போன்ற தேசபக்தர்கள் தோன்றாமைக்குக் காரணம் தமிழர்களின் மொழிப் பற்றின்மையேயாகும்.*

"வங்காளிகள் வங்க மொழியில் அளவிறந்த காதல் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். மஹாராஷ்டிரர் தம் மொழியில் பற்றுக்கொண்டே தேச சேவை செய்கின்றனர். அமிர்தசரஸ் காங்கிரஸ் வரவேற்பும் உபந்நியாசமும் எம்மொழியில் நடைபெற்றன? ஹிந்தி ஹிந்துஸ்தானி பாஷைகளில் நடைபெற்றன. தமிழ் நாட்டில் காங்கிரஸ் கூடின், தமிழில் வரவேற்பு உபந்நியாசம் நிகழப்பெறுமோ? மொழியினிடத்துப் பற்றில்லாதார் தேச சேவை, இடம்பத்தை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டதாக முடியும்."—திரு. வி. க. தமிழ்ச் சோலை அல்லது கட்டுரைத் திரட்டு, முதற்பகுதி, சாது அச்சுக் கூடம், மயிலாப்பூர், சென்னை—4, 1959. பக். 9.

The reason why a renaissance and development of everything Tamil is founded by Kalyanasundaranar and other writers on the Tamil language is the underlying conviction, not so clearly expressed, perhaps, that language is the matrix of culture in general, but with Tamil, most of the heritage is literary, and hence it is the literature which mainly conserves the well-springs of inspiration. By literature here should be meant also vocal music, dance drama using Tamil words, the epigraphy recalling the achievements of Tamil dynasties, and, above all, the religious and devotional books of the different religionists of the Tamil country. If language be neglected, the literature is not made familiar; and if the literature be not familiar, the people lose touch with the sources of their religion, their history, their culture, and the main source of their identity as a group. A Tamil without his language ceases to be a Tamil.[21]

"தமிழை அழிப்பது தமிழரை அழிப்பது"

—பாரதி தாசன்

DRAVIDIAN MOVEMENTS AND REGIONALISM

There is, however, another school of writers, whose dual loyalty is to the Tamil country, and to the concept of Dravidastan. They hardly ever speak of any loyalty due to India, though they do write of internationalism and loyalty to the One World ideal which is an Ancient Tamil ideal. Bharati Dasan (1891-   ) is the poet of this movement and Kanna

21. T. S. Eliot says with regard to the intrinsic identification between cultures: "It must be remembered that for thet ransmission of a culture - a peculiar way of thinking, feeling and behaving - and for its maintenance, there is no safeguard more reliable than a language. And to survive for this purpose it must continue to be a literary language - not necessarily a scientific language, but certainly a poetic one; otherwise the spread of education will extinguish it."

Dasan (1927-) and Mudiyarasan are youthful seconds.[22]

Bharati Dasan even works out in verse the geological and geographical justifications for the idea of a separate Dravidian state, and pictures the Himalayan orography and Tethys sea of the Eocene period. Time was when the Vindhyas marked the northern boundary of a Dravidian continent, and the ocean waves rolled where now the Himalayas and Northern India stand. The Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea did not then exist. A continent extended from the now Southern India to Australia and Africa. The Himalayas were thrown up by a geological upheaval and hence the area from the Vindhyas to the Himalayas became a land mass, and the displaced water formed the Arabian and Bengal seas.[23] Beyond mentioning the names of Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, and Tulu, as the constituents of Dravidastan there is hardly any further delineation of this projected state which has never existed as such in history, but which has a certain language and cultural basis. One surmises that the Dravidian union is projected merely to make a viable state, in opposition to the North Indian Aryan language speaking provinces. But the devotion to the concept of Tamil Nad, to the Tamil Mother and to the Tamil language, is a passion with Bharati Dasan, and the other Dravidastan movement writers, whether Dravida Kazhakam or Dravida Munnetra Kazhakam.

22. For the political background of this group, see SELIG S. HARRISON, *India, the Most dangerous decades*, Oxford University Press, 1960, LLOYD I. RUDOLPH, *Urban Life and Populist Radicalism, Dravidian Polities in Madras*, in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XX, No. 3, (May, 1961).

23. "அடடே! வடபெருங் குன்றமும் இல்லை
அவ்விடம் நீர்ப்பரப்பு - ஆழ்கடல் உள்ளதே
அப்பெருங் கடல்அலை, அழகிய விந்திய
வெற்பின் வடபுறத்து விளையா டினவே.
மேற்கு – அரபிக்கடல் கிழக்குவங் கக்கடல்
இல்லை என்ன வியப்பு இது!"

A great volume of Bharati Dasan's poetry consists in positive effusions of love and loyalty to the Tamil Mother and Virgin. Some of the poetry is exquisite and may be ranked with the best of Subramanya Bharati himself. Unalloyed Tamil words convey the sense with effortless charm. Bharati Dasan is concerned with the "Northerners" and the Brahmins, only to revile them, because they represent the Aryan tradition and the economic and social Aryan domination of the Tamil country.

"What joy, what joy to be able to say I am not an Aryan!"

"ஆரியன் அல்லேன் என்னும் போதில்
எத்தனை மகிழ்ச்சி! எத்தனை மகிழ்ச்சி!" [24]

Those who do not speak Dravidian tongues are alien.

"அயல்என்று கொட்டுக முரசே! உறவான
திராவிடர் அல்லார்." [25]

Though the Dravidian peoples are different by name they are united by birth.

"பெயரினால் வேறுபட்டீர் மக்களே! நீங்கள்
பிறப்பினால் ஒன்றுபட்டீர்." [26]

As a general policy the Dravidastan school of poets repudiate even the Tamil literature originating or seeking inspiration from Sanskritic source; their hero is not the Rama of the north, but the Ravana of the south. There is suspicion and distrust of all political movements and economic development schemes originating from the north.

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24. பாரதிதாசன், பாரதிதாசன் கவிதைகள், இரண்டாம் தொகுதி, இனப்பெயர், பாரி நிலையம், சென்னை-1, 1958, பக்கம் 92.

25. பாரதிதாசன், இசையமுது 1, "தமிழர் முரசு", பக்கம் 36.

26. பாரதிதாசன், குயில் (3-ஆம் தொகுப்பு), "சென்னை பற்றிச் சண்டையா!" பக்கம் 8.

"பொங்கும் வடநாட்டுப் பொய்யும் புனைசுருட்டும்
எங்கும் தலைவிரித்தே இன்னல் விளைத்தனவே."
—பாரதி தாசன் (3)

While Bharati Dasan is less articulate now in his seventies, Kanna Dasan who has been reared in the same tradition, has topical poems on the dangers of Hindi and the need to protect Tamil. These dangers come, he says, because of a hostile Central Government, and state ministers who are subservient to the Centre. If the Tamils had their own state, would these impositions be possible from a Centre?

"நடுவரசின் பதவிக்கே இந்தி வேண்டும்
நாட்டோரே கற்கவெனச் சென்னை ஆளும்
கெடுவரசின் அமைச்சரவர் கிளத்து கின்றார்.
கேட்கின்றோம், நெஞ்செரியத் தமிழ நாட்டீர்!
நடுவரசு நமக்கிருந்தால் இந்தி ஏது?

* * *

கடுமொழியில் கேட்கின்ற கழக மல்லால்
கண்ணகியின் கால்வழியோர் யார்கேட் டார்கள்?"[27]

Radicalist writers like Bharati Dasan and Kanna Dasan and a host of young writers and poets, not all of the Dravidastan school, find in Hindi and "northern domination," reasons to conjure up a demonology threatening the survival of Tamil. The output of verse and prose in defence of Tamil against dangers, real and imaginary, has been considerable during the last two decades. Some of the verses are frankly anti-demonological, and call on the Tamil speakers to take up their swords in their hands, and bathe them in the blood of Hindi in the south. In the process of warning the Tamils of actual and potential dangers, the poets make senseless ridicule of Hindi sounds and shapes of letters, ridicule which might win applause from the undiscerning and the uneducated.

27. கவிஞர் கண்ணதாசன், கவிதைகள், பக்கம் 115.

" நகரவிடா தேவாளைக் கரத்தில் தூக்கு
  நாய்க்குலத்தின் குருதியிலே தமிழ்கு ளிக்கும்.
" லம்பாடி லம்பாடி லம்பா டிப்பேய்
  நாய் குரைத்த ஓசையிலே பிறந்த பாடை;
கொம்பொன்று போடாமல் தொங்க வொண்ணுக்
  குரங்கெழுத்தைக் கொண்டமொழி 'ஹைஹை' என்று
நம்நாட்டில் குதிரைகளை ஓட்டும் சொல்லை
  நலுங்காமல் எடுத்துப்போய் வினைச்சொல் லாக்கித்
தெம்போடு வாழ்வதற்கு மேலும் வார்த்தை
  தேடியவா றலைகின்ற தெருப்பொ றுக்கி "[28]

Mudiyarasan has no prejudice against any other languages. He will learn other languages but not at the expense of Tamil, and not until he has an adequate knowledge of his own Mother-tongue.[29] But the quality of poetry of the Dravidian school showing positive love of Tamil is frankly inspirational. The defence literature on behalf of Tamil, even when written by those not affiliated with Dravidastan movements, tends to be regional. Pan-Indian sentiments and loyalties are not found in them.

How literary productions can increase in quality and quantity under a threat to the Mother-tongue was seen during the civil dis-obedience campaign in 1961 conducted in the traditional homelands of the Tamils of Ceylon. The campaign all over the North and East of the island assumed a religious and bakthi character. Men and women, and children of all ages sat through the day and night under most trying conditions in penitential and expiatory mood,

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28. கவிஞர் கணணதாசன், கண்ணதாசன் கவிதைகள், பக்கம் 116.
"பிறமொழியை வெறுக்கின்றேன் என்று சொல்லிப்
பிழையாகக் கருதாதீர்; தமிழை யிங்கு
மறுவறநன் குணர்ந்ததறபின் பயில்க என்பேன்."

29. முடியரசன் கவிதைகள், மொழியுணர்ச்சி, பாரி நிலையம், சென்னை-1, பக். 122.

hoping to assert their moral and legal rights to language by such demonstrations. And almost overnight poets sprang up from the towns and countryside, and published their verses and hymns which became the inspiration of those engaged in the movement.

SUMMARY

The Mother India concept is therefore less noted in the Tamil literature subsequent to the constitution of India as an independent state. So long as the independence of India had to be won, that concept was kept constantly alive. But now that the chains which bound Mother India have been broken and she has been raised to her independent throne, the preoccupation of Tamil poets and writers is with the status to be accorded to the *Mater et Virgo Tamulica.* The potential dangers to her life, are deemed to be many, and these engage the thoughts of Tamil writers. Compulsory Hindi is deemed to be a danger; non-sympathetic Brahmins with their introduction of Sanskrit words and Sanskrit sounds are supposed to be others. The political overlordship of Delhi, and the All-India Sanskritising Hindi ising movements are supposed to create conflicts and tensions.

Recent writing, even of those who are for India one and undivided, has shown some stress and tension, and some apprehension concerning the future of Tamil. Novels like *Kadal Kanda Kanavu* by Somu continue to extol the Tamil heritage and revel with delirious delight in everything concerning the Tamil revival. One cannot help feeling that this tension and conflict on the part of the majority of writers is not due to any lack of love for a Mother India concept, but due to apprehensions concerning what the adherents of the

"Mother India equals Mother Hindi" concept might do to Mother Tamil.

The protective and defence literature of Tamil has increased in volume and intensity during the modern periods when Tamil seemed to be beleagured in favour of Sanskrit or Hindi. The movement for Indian Independence (1918-1947) evoked loyalty and patriotism towards both Mother India and Mother Tamil. During the period of the Anti-Hindi agitation a great deal of literature was produced extolling the virtues of Mother Tamil. Opposition to the Tamil Isai (music) movement from Brahmin patrons of music evoked further literature in favour of a Tamil Renais sance. In examining twentieth century literature, it becomes apparent that regional nationalism has increased in the measure there was opposition, real or imaginary to the Tamil Renaissance, and Indian nationalism has decreased in Tamil writing in proportion to the movements for compulsory Hindi and the fear that an All India language as the means of unity and unification might eventually displace Tamil.

Bharati and Shelley

V. SACHITHANANDAN

Of all the English poets Shelley was nearest to Bharati's heart. His spirit of rebellion against the tyranny of established institutions, his revolutionary ardour, his championship of women and above all his idealism greatly appealed to the imagination of the Tamil poet. Bharati's reverence for Shelley was so great that he called himself *Shelley Dasan*,[1] and under that pseudonym wrote many fiery articles in defence of his cherished ideals which offended vested interests in his society. His affection for and admiration of his idol resulted in his founding a Shelleyan Guild at his[2] birthplace, Ettaiyapuram. According to tradition Bharati used to teach the members of the Guild Shelley's poems and expatiate on the beauties of his poetry.

David Masson observes that "the whole life of Shelley had been a war against custom". [3] Since his Eton days, he literally shrieked against established systems, and unable to bear the onslaughts of his countrymen against his provocative writings and also morals, he went into voluntary exile and spent the rest of his short span of life in Italy. With the never flagging zeal for reforms, Shelley continued his crusade against society until his tragic death.

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1. Bharati calls Shelley, Poet of poets—*Bharati Tamil*, p. 441. In his short story *Kantamani* there is a direct quotation from Shelley. Ibid. p. 270.

2. P. Mahadeven, *Subramaniya Bharati*, p. 27 Also see Sellammal Bharati, *Bharati Charitram*, p. 21.

3. David Masson, *Shelley. Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and other Essays*, p. 110.

Shelley said that he had "a passion for reforming the world". As a reformer he believed in "the salvation and pefection of mankind by way of an absolute breach with the East".[4] He scoffed at all institutions and customs which were responsible for the wrongs and corruptions that beset society. Kings, priests and statesmen who had poisoned the very vitals of society had to be dispensed with :

"Kings, priests and statesmen blast the human flower
Even in its tender bud; their influence darts
Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins
Of desolate society." [5]

When the conditions envisaged by the poet were fulfilled, there would begin a new era, the Golden Age to which Shelley has given eloquent expression in a number of his poems like *Queen Mab*, *Prometheus Unbound, The Witch of Atlas* and *Hellas*.

Bharati's advocacy of drastic social reforms was evidently inspired by the Shelleyan gospel. The influence of the English poet can be traced in Bharati's violent hatred of tyranny, his bitter attacks on priesthood, his tireless plea for an exalted treatment of women and his noble vision ef *Treta Yuga* or the Golden Age.

According to Shelley there were two classes of tyrants, kings and priests who usurped power and enslaved people whose abject submission confirmed the wrongful authority of the tyrants. But ,it is the king whom Shelley denounces, not the man, because he is an instrument of evil. The subject also is equally despicable because of his passive obedience to

4. *Sir Walter Raleigh, Shelley, Authors*, p. 290.
5. *Queen Mab*, IV. ll. 104-107.

tyranny.[6] Shelley's conception of the tyrant was inspired by Plato's grim presentation of the soul of the tyrant in *The Republic.*[7] He paints the tyrant in lurid colours in *The Revolt of Islam.*[8] According to him the country ruled over by a tyrant is no better than a waste land.

To Bharati the tyrant is a Hiranya, a godless and soulless monster, whose modern counterpart is the last Czar of Russia, Nicholas II, whose fall is celebrated in the poem New Russia (புது ருஷியா). The poem bears definite traces of the influence of Shelley's '*Ode to Liberty*' and Byron's '*Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*'. The opening lines of the poem on Russia,

"மாகாளி பராசக்தி உருசியநாட்
டினிற்கடைக்கண் வைத்தாள். அங்கே
ஆகாவென் றெழுந்ததுபார் யுகப்புரட்சி!"

are as spirited and full of fire as the first stanza of '*Ode to Liberty*':

"A Glorious people vibrated again
The lightning of the nations: Liberty
From heart to heart, from tower to tower, o'er Spain,
Scattering contagious fire into the sky,
Gleamed."

Shelley's poem was inspired by the news of the success of the Russian Revolution and the fall of the Czar in 1917. The poem on the *New Russia* is really an ode to liberty.

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6. (i) Floyd Stovall, *Shelley's Doctrine of Love*, PMLA, 1930. pp. 283-303.
   (ii) *Queen Mab.* III, 11. 170-180.
7. L. Winstanley 'Platonism in Shelley.' *Essays and Studies*, Vol. IV. 1913.
8. Cf. Canto V of *The Revolt of Islam.*

According to Neville Rogers, "'Monarch' and 'king' come second only perhaps to 'anarch' among his (Shelley's) terms of opprobrium".[9] A typical example is the well known passage in *'Ode to Liberty'*.

"Oh, that the free would stamp the impious name
Of KING into the dust!"

Bharati is equally violent in his denunciation of the Czar whom he calls 'கொடுங்கோலன்', 'பாவி' and 'மூடன்'. He paints a frightful picture of the tyrant converting Russia into a land of misery, disease and oppression. The only dharma he recognized was tyranny. Bharati unlike Shelley who was extremely sceptical of divine intervention, believed that it was the Goddess Parasakti who destroyed the tyrant and rescued lovers of truth from his cruel hands ;

"செம்மையெலாம் பாழாகிக் கொடுமையே
அறமாகித் தீர்ந்த போதில்,
அம்மைமனங் கனிந்திட்டாள்; அடிபரவி
உண்மைசொலும் அடியார் தம்மை
மும்மையிலும் காத்திடுநல் விழியாலே
நோக்கினள்; முடிந்தான் காலன்!"

It is interesting to note here that both Shelley and Bharati employ the image of the serpent to express their revulsion to kingship. According to Bharati in the land of the tyrant falsehood, deceit and evil were breeding like snakes in a jungle:

"பொய்சூது தீமை யெல்லாம்
அரணியத்திற் பாம்புகள்போல் மலிந்துவளர்ந்
தோங்கினவே அந்த நாட்டில்."

Shelley speaks of "cutting the snaky knots of this foul gordian word called king". To Bharati, tyrant king

9. **Neville Rogers :** *Shelley At work : A critical Inquiry* p. 313.

of Russia, breeds poison. To Shelley the very word "king" is deadly poison.

Shelley's view of priesthood is clearly seen in the following stanza from the '*Ode to Liberty*':

> "Oh, that the wise from their bright minds would kindle
> Such lamps within the dome of this dim world.
> That the pale name of PRIEST might shrink and dwindle
> Into the hell from which it first was hurled..."

"Bright minds...lamps...dome'—the array of symbols set in antithesis convey with great precision exactly what the hated word meant to Shelley; something risen from the realms of darkness for which there was no place in the temple of Intellectual Beauty".[10] It has been pointed out by Neville Rogers that Shelley's attitude to priests was permanently influenced by the views of Diderot and his school.

The same blind hatred of priesthood is not found in the writings of Bharati. His attacks on priests are however bitter. He charges them with pious hypocrisy and cupidity.[12] Their gross materialism, he believes, is responsible for their bad name among people. Like Shelley, Bharati feels that priests have the base motive of enslaving people permanently. He warns that there will be no divinity in those who attempt to make others their slaves.[12] But it should be admitted that Bharati, unlike Shelley who had no faith in priesthood at all, was genuinely interested in reforming the institution and making it a useful part of a theistic society. His bitter remarks may be taken

10. Neville Rogers: *Shelley at work : A critical Inquiry*. p.317.
11. *Bharati Tamil*. p. 179.
12. *Philosophy*. p. 4.

as the result of his painful disappointment over the failure of the priests to fulfil their duty as he conceived it. A stout opponent of untouchability, Bharati puts in a bold plea that Hindu priests, imitating Christian missionaries, should establish schools in *cheris*; they should not forget that pariahs and panchamas are Hindus and they should teach them the basic tenets of Hinduism.[13] It may be pointed out that Bharati's exaggerated faith in the essential goodness of Hindu priests outruns his discretion when he tries to maintain that they are more upright and orthodox than the priests in Europe.[14]

Bharati's 'புதுமைப் பெண்' is the legitimate successor of Shelley's 'new woman' embodied in his heroines from Cyntha to Emilia. Bharati was ahead of his time in the position he assigned to women in Indian society. His profound belief in the Shakti cult and his reading of Shelley inspired him to treat women with reverence and revolutionary ardour. To him woman is a goddess, Shakti, Lakshmi or Saraswati.[15] It is Shakti who assumes the role of mother or wife to protect man.[16] Woman is the very embodiment of Dharma.[17] Shelley's Cythna is the first 'new woman' in English poetry.[18] She is wiser and more intelligent than Laon and it is she, not Laon, who is endowed with intellectual qualities to reform the world. "She is a type that modern revolutions have made familiar, the woman in the heart of the storm, at the head of the crowd, diffusing the joy of devotion".[19] It is this new woman who is summoned to

13. *Society*. pp. 87-88.
14. Ibid, pp. 207-209.
15. Ibid. p. 4.
16. Ibid. p. 78.
17. *Stories of Bharati*. p. 347.
18. Edmund Blunden: *Shelley : A Life Story*. p. 165.
19. A. M. D. Hughes : *The Nascent Mind of Shelley*, p. 210,

the cave of Demogorgon and who shows him "what he has to teach".[20] She is Faith, Hope and Charity as revealed in Panthea, Ione and Asia respectively. She knows the efficacy of love and the value of forgiveness. She is Intellectual Beauty. "From *Queen Mab* to *Hellas* she waits and watches in unwavering hope for the triumph of the good cause, either in her mortal form, or translated, like Asia and the Lady of Atlas, to the rank of the intermediary between Men and Gods".[21] Such is the glory of the new woman in the poetry of Shelley.

The heroine of Bharati's poem 'புதுமைப் பெண்' incorporates the main characteristics of Shelley's revolutionary women. The New Woman is an avatar of Parasakti born into this world to reform it and to make men immortal.[22] The witch of Atlas is

> "A lovely lady garmented in light
> From her own beauty......"

There is something unearthly in "the excessive brilliance of her beauty"[23] which she has inherited from her father, the Sun. The New Woman of Bharati, though of divine origin, is of the earth and she is an exquisite lotus of rare beauty in the midst of corruption;

> " சேற்றி லேபுதி தாக முளைத்ததோர்
> செய்ய தாமரைத் தேமலர் போலொளி
> தோற்றி நின்றனை பாரத நாட்டிலே."

Some of the new ideas which Bharati's ideal woman propagates are derived from *The Revolt of Islam*. Laon tells his sweet heart in emphatic terms,

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20. *Prometheus Unbound*, II, iv.
21. *Hughes*, p. 210.
22. *Pudumai Penn*, 10.
23. Milton Wilson: *Shelley's Later Poetry*, p. 262.

"Never will peace and human nature meet
Till free and equal man and woman greet
Domestic peace..........." [24]

According to the New Woman of Bharati, equality of man and woman alone will make the world prosperous and wise:

" ஆணும் பெண்ணும் நிகரெனக் கொள்வதால்
அறிவி லோங்கிஇவ் வையம் தழைக்குமாம்."

In an essay Bharati asserts that without domestic freedom, there is no national freedom.[25] So equality of the sexes, according to the poets, should be observed both at home and abroad. Laon claims that his sacred union with Cyntha has filled him with wisdom. She combines in herself the sterling qualities of a hero, the mildness of a woman and the simplicity of a child.[26]

According to the hoary traditions of Tamil literature, the four qualities of the ideal woman are அச்சம் (fear), நாணம் (coyness), மடம் (artlessness) and பயிர்ப்பு (modesty). Bharati denounces in strong terms the first two as not being worthy of the new woman. The poet's silent omission of the other two qualities amounts to a tacit approval of their being among the characteristics of his heroine. Bharati's ideal woman stands for wisdom, truth, heroism and freedom.[27] The sweetness of her voice when she speaks of freedom for her down trodden sisters is described thus:

24. *The Revolt of Islam*: II, xxxvii.
25. *Society*, p. 44.
26. *The Revolt of Islam*, II, xxxii.
27. The veiled - maid of the poet's dreams in Alastor also bears a close resemblance to Bharati's new woman: Knowledge and truth and virtue were her theme and lofty hopes of divine liberty...

" மாதர்க் குண்டு சுதந்திரம் என்றுநின்
வண்மலர்த்திரு வாயின் மொழிந்தசொல்
நாதந் தானது நாரதர் வீணையோ?
நம்பி ரான்கண்ணன் வேய்ங்குழ லின்பமோ?"

Her voice uttering the accents of freedom sounds like celestial music to the poet. The same quality of thrilling mystery is discernible in the voice of Cyntha when she sings hymns to Freedom specially composed by Laon and in his words,

"She would arise, and, like the secret bird
Whom sunset wakens, fill the shore and sky
With her sweet accents - a wild melody!
Hymns which my soul had woven to Freedom...
....
Triumphant strains, which, like a spirit's tongue,
To the enchanted waves that child of glory sung." [28]

Shelley's ideal woman sometimes assumes superhuman forms like Asia and the Witch of Atlas. Certain delineations of Bharati's ideal woman reveal the same characteristic. His portrait of Sister Nivedita bears a strong resemblance to the Lady of Atlas. The qualities which Bharati bestows on Nivedita are the qualities of a goddess almost resembling his favourite deity Shakti. But her resemblance to the woman of Atlas may be noted. The Witch is of divine birth, her father being the Sun and her mother being "one of the Atlantides".[29] Nivedita is "the temple of love". It is nothing but divine "gentleness and power" which attract all beings including the poet towards her. As for the Lady of Atlas,

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28. *Revolt*, II. xxviii.
29. Milton Wilson, p. 260.

"......her voice was heard like love, and drew
All living things towards this wonder new."

Nivedita is like the radiant sun that drives out the darkness of ignorance from the heart of the poet. She is wisdom personified. The beauty of the Witch of Atlas "made the bright world dim" and she is "Wisdom's wizard".

Droupadi and Kannamma smell of the sweet fragrance of Emilia. The original of the heroine of *Epipsychidion* is an Italian woman Emilia Viviani and the two elements, one ideal and the other real, seem to meet in Shelley's portrait. Emilia is Shelley's conception of Beauty and she is also the Italian woman. There is more in her than these two traits. She is a lineal descendant of all the ideal women Shelley created in his poetic dreams and all the real women whom he knew in life: [30]

"Seraph of Heaven! too gentle to be human,
Veiling beneath the radiant form of Woman
All that is insupportable in thee
Of light and love and immortality!
Sweet Benediction in the eternal Curse!
Veiled glory of this lampless Universe!
Thou Moon beyond the clouds! Thou living Form
Among the Dead! Thou Star above the Storm!
Thou Wonder and thou Beauty, and thou Terror!"[31]

She is a "Sweet Lamp......A Lovely soul formed to be blessed and bless". She is also

"A Lute, which those whom Love has taught to play
Make music on, to soothe the roughest day
And lull fond Grief asleep........."[32]

30. *Neville Rogers*, p. 128.
31. *Epipsychidion*, ll. 21-29.
32. Ibid. l. 65 f.

There is a subtle blending of the ideal and the real in the portrait of Panchali. The highest ideas of Sweetness, Joy, Beauty, Love and Immortality have gone into her making. Yet her portrait loses none of the splendour of the earth. She rises from the earth in full glory and reaches the heavens in complete majesty.[33]

Emilia is identified with many forms of nature like woods, fountains, flowers and breezes. Her voice is heard in sounds and in silence.[34] Kannamma, another divine creature, like Emilia, manifests herself in the same fashion to the Tamil poet. She is Sun and Moon and Sky and Stars to the starving poet. Further, Kannamma is also a cosmic manifestation.[35]

Shelley's heroines have been described as visionary, unsubstantial and ethereal and like his own skylark they are said to scorn the ground. That is because they are the delicate products of the Ariel-like imagination of the poet. This gossamer-like delicacy is part of the make-up of the ideal women of Bharati. But a happy blending of the sensuous and the supersensuous elements has given them a deflnite form which is within the grasp of the reader's imagination.

Carlos Baker in a brillant study has made out that Shelley uses in his poems what the writer calls "Psyche-epipsyche strategy".[36] Its basic idea can be traced to the "Symposium" and "Phaedrus" of Plato.[37] This strategy is described in Shelleyan

33. *Panchali Sabatham*, II. iv. 243 & 244.
34. *Epipsychidion*, ll. 200–209.
35. *Kannamma En Kathali*, 16 & 17.
36. Shelley's Major Poetry: *The Fabric of a Vision*, p. 53.
37. According to Socrates, "Love is of something and desires something which he does not possess in himself"-"Symposium-" Jowett translation. See also the discussion on Lover in "Phaused".

language thus: "The mind (psyche) imaginatively creates or envisions what it does not have (epipsyche), and then seeks to possess epipsyche, to move towards a goal". Epipsyche has been called "the soul within the soul" by Shelley and the best illustration of the "psyche - epipsyche strategy" is found in *Epipsychidion.* The poem describes the poet's quest of his ideal - "a special kind of complementary being" or "love which activates in man the higher forms of creativity". Love is nothing but the spiritual union of the soul and the thing which it loves.

The basic assumption of the songs on *Kannamma* and of the *Kuyil Pattu* is the quest motive. They describe in moving terms the passionate search of the poetic mind (psyche) for the possession of what it does not have (epipsyche) and so imaginatively creates. *Kannamma* and the *Bird-Woman* stand for the poet's highest ideals of Beauty and Love. Beauty of Love is the supreme essence which is loved by the soul. The poems record the infinite longing of the soul to unite with the essence. When the final union takes place, the highest bliss is experienced. That is the profound significance of the passionate outpourings of the lover of *Kannamma* and the *Kuyil.* The poet's passionate longing to realise his visioned ideal is beautifully expressed in a little known poem: [38]

" I loved - Oh, no, I mean not one of ye,
Or any earthly one, though ye are dear
As human heart to human heart may be; -
I loved, I know not what - but this low sphere
And all that it contains, contains not thee.
Thou, whom, seen nowhere, I feel everywhere."

38. *The Zucca,* III.

From the 'new woman' to the millennium is a natural transition because to Shelley "a beautiful woman was a symbol of the millennium, and the millennium meant the society of beautiful women".[39] Shelley sings of the Golden Age in a number of poems.[40] The earliest version is found in *Queen Mab*. A spirit called Necessity controls the destiny of the world. She is unlike "the God of human error" and she requires "no prayers or praises".[40] Error and vice have bedevilled man in the past and his future salvation lies in reason and virtue. The new era begins when he enters into a partnership with "the spirit of Nature acting necessarily".[41] Then the frozen polar region will become a fertile land. Sandy deserts will

"...teem with countless rills and shady woods,
Cornfields and pastures and white cottages."
(VIII, ll. 75-76)

"Consentaneous love" will inspire the living world. The lion will dandle the lamb in its paws. One of the blessings of the Golden Age is that man will give up the horrid habit of devouring flesh, the source of "all putrid humours...all evil passions and all vain belief".[42] Man will stand "an equal amidst equals". Happiness and science will dawn on the realm of peace. Care, sorrow, languor, disease and ignorance will not visit the earth. Cathedrals and palaces will fall. Finally,

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39. A. Clutton - Brock. *Shelley: The Man and the Poet*, p. 86.
40. *Queen Mab*, VIII and IX; *The Revolt of Islam*, IV & V; *Prometheus Uubound*, III, iv; *The Witch of Atlas*, LXXV-LXXVII. and *Hellas*, 1.106 f.
41. Dowden: *Life of Shelley*, p. 180.
42. *Queen Mab*, VIII, 1.215 f.

"Woman and man, in confidence and love,
Equal and free and pure together trod
The mountain-paths of virtue, which no more
Were stained with blood from many a pilgrim's
feet." (IX, ll. 89-92)

These essential ideas of Shelley's about the millennium did not undergo any drastic change during the years of his poetic development. However a significant change may be noted. The rank atheistic utterance found in *Queen Mab* underwent a sea-change until they ended in "a theism or a belief in a Supreme Mind"[43] which is evident throughout *Hellas* and in the following lines in *The Boat on the Serchio* :

"All rose to do the task He set to each,
Who shaped us to His ends and not our own."

Complete freedom, happiness, health, equality, love and peace are the prominent features of Shelley's new world which cannot be formed overnight, but is the result of a long process of evolution.

Bharati's conception of what he calls the *Kruda Yuga* [44] or the new age of hope has many things in common with the millennium visualised by Shelley. Freedom, equality, dharma, piety, truth and love form the bastion of his republic. In one of his stories [45] he gives a definition of *Kruda Yuga*:

"எந்த ஜந்துவும், வேறு எந்த ஜந்துவையும்
ஹிம்சை பண்ணுமலும் எல்லா ஜந்துக்களும்
மற்றெல்லா ஜந்துக்களையும் தேவதாரூப
மாகக் கண்டு வணங்கும்படிக்கும் விதி
யுண்டானால், அதுதான் கிருதயுகம்."

43. A.M.D. Hughes: *The Theology of Shelley.* Warton Lecture on English Poetry, Proceedings of the British Academy, XXIV, 1939, p. 196.

45. *'Summa'*, Stories of Bharati, p. 311.

The millennium draws its sustenance from the mutual love and respect of the whole or the animate creation. It is this ideal state of happiness which Shelley describes in *Queen Mab* by the imagery of the lion and the lamb. All things forget their evil nature, and live in amity. This is "the effect of the millennium on Nature" [46] described by the Spirit or the Earth in the great drama of Shelley. [47] In Bharati's "*Paradise of Peace*" there is no such startling physical transformation of ugly shapes; it is a spiritual change which alone ensures peace.

Prometheus after "Three thousand years of sleep-unsheltered hours and moments" finds ultimate relief in the ejection of hate and enthronement of love and is ushered into the new world by the Spirit of the Hour. Guru Govind demands of his disciples "blood, toil, sweat and tears" as a sacrifice for the attainment of their goal—an ideal state of freedom and happiness. [48] The Spirit of the Hour seems to have given him some ideas to build up his new state. In the Shelleyan republic,

"...thrones were kingless, and men walked
One with the other even as spirits do,
None fawned, none trampled; hate, disdain, or fear,
Self-love or self-contempt, on human brows
No more inscribed........."

Guru Govind promises to find for his followers a world where all men are brothers, all men are equals and all men are free:

46. Milton: *Wilson*, p. 289.
47. *Prometheus Unbound*, III, iv. ll. 65-73.
48. *Guru Govindar*

"மானிட ரெல்லாம் சோதரர்; மானிடர்
சமத்துவ முடையார்: சுதந்திரஞ் சார்ந்தவர்.
சீடர்காள்! குலத்தினும் செயலினும் அனைத்தினும்
இக்கணந் தொட்டுநீர் யாவரும் ஒன்றே!"

The passage is no doubt, an echo of the famous slogans given to the modern world by the protagonists of the French Revolution. But the vehemence and the spirit with which the ideas are driven home point to the influence of Shelley. The slogans of the new republic are "Dharma, God, Truth and Freedom". It is a casteless. but a theistic society with which Bharati peoples his world. To him it is impossible to imagine a society without God for He alone sustains the world. [49] This is a clear departure from Shelley's concept of a free society.

In the Promethean world all symbols of tyranny and injustice are destroyed—"Thrones, altars, judgement-seats, and prisons". The new society of Guru Govind is sceptreless and free, but it recognized God as its king. It stamps out injustice and tyranny; [50]

"அநீதியும் கொடுமையும் அழித்திடுஞ் சாதி;
....
அரசனில் லாது தெய்வமே யரசர்
....
குடியர சாற்றுங் கொள்கையார் சாதி."

But unlike its model, this land of peace is filled with heroes who are armed - something which may sound repugnant to Shelley who dreams of the time when soldiers will become blacksmiths and beat their swords to plough shares. [51] It is but natural for the religious

49. 'நம்முடைய இஷ்டப்படி உலகம் நடக்கவில்லை. தெய்வத்தின் இஷ்டப்படி உலகம் நடக்கிறது.' *Arts*, p 37.

50 'எவன் அநியாயத்தை விடுகிறானோ, அவனுக்குக் கிருதயுகம் அந்த க்ஷணமே கைமேலே கிடைக்கும்.' *Philosophy*, p. 5.

51 *The Witch of Atlas*, LXXV.

leader of a martial community to indulge in a soldier's dream, however divested of aggressive intentions. Bharati himself believed that the new India of his poetic dreams can be created only by a soldier-philosopher.[52] He alone can free his country groaning under a foreign yoke.

The land of the Pandavas as described by Bharati is nothing but the ideal country which belongs to the Golden Age. Its fertile and beautiful landscape[53] recalls to mind "the habitable earth...full of bliss" of *Queen Mab.*[54] (The sensuousness of the description owes more to Keats than to Shelley.) Bharati like Shelley seems to believe that the millennium cannot be a reality without beautiful women. The Pandava country is full of women rivalling the divine courtesan Ramba in beauty. They may share with Panchali her fine accomplishments though there is no mention of it. *The Spirit of the Hour* describes the women of the new era as

> " ....frank, beautiful, and kind
> As the free heaven which rains fresh light and dew
> On the wide earth, past; gentle radiant forms,
> From custom's evil taint exempt and pure;
> Speaking the wisdom once they could not think,
> Looking emotions once they feared to feel,
> And changed to all which once they dared not be.
> Yet being now, made earth like heaven...."[55]

Sylva Norman speaks of the wide popularity of *To a Skylark* in the Orient during the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the

52 *Pōkinra Bhārathamum Varukinra Bhārathamum.*
53. *Pānchāli Sabatham*, I. 17. ll. 116-118.
54. *Queen Mab*, VIII
55. *Prometheus Unbound*, III, iv, ll. 153-160.

present century.[56] The poem seems to have made a great appeal to Bharati. The extent of its influence may be gauged from a study of his lyric 'சிட்டுக் குருவியைப் போலே' and his essay 'சிட்டு'. The latter is an elaborate commentary on the former. Shelley's poem records the thoughts which the bird awakens in the breast of the poet and the words of the lyric reproduce the melody of the lark. What the poet has achieved is the expression of "the supersonic flight of the bird in terms of the super-luminous".[57] To Shelley, the skylark is not a bird, but a blithe Spirit which remains invisible up in the bright blue heavens. By its sweet outpourings it inspires the poet to a lyrical outburst. He envies the happy lot of the bird because it is a complete stranger to pain, languor. annoyance and the sad satiety of love which mark the life of man on the earth.

The theme of Bharati's lyric is the perfect freedom of the *cittu* which with its mate enjoys unalloyed domestic happiness and a life of health, which by implication, are denied to the poet who is the representative of the human world and as such is ever longing to be as free as the bird. It is a simple and unadorned song whose inward silence is more eloquent than its outward expression. What the poet has failed to give expression to in the poem is amply compensated by the essay on the *cittu*. There he gives a profound interpretation to the phrase 'விட்டு விடுதலை' which is the refrain of the lyric.

Bharati begins the essay with details of the simple but attractive features of two birds. male and female, that live in the house of the poet. It is

56. *Flight of a Skylark* - The Development of Shelley's Reputation, p. 287.

57. *Milton:* Wilson, p. 296.

followed by a description of the ideal domestic life of the two birds. Like Shelley, Bharati envies the *cittu* its freedom. Shelley's envy is also the result of a feeling that the bird is ignorant of pain:

" With thy clear keen joyance
    Languor cannot be:
Shadow of annoyance
    Never came near thee:
Thou lovest but ne'er knew love's sad satiety."

The *cittu* does not seem to be aware of the existence of sorrow that eats away the heart of man and disease that wastes away his body :

"...க்ஷணந்தோறும் மனிதருடைய நெஞ்சைச் செல்லரிப்பது போல அரிக்கும் கவலைத் தொகுதியும், அதனால் ஏற்படும் நோய்த்திரளும் குருவிக்கு இருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை."

Bharati makes a pathetic appeal to God to give him a pair of wings [58] so that he might fly far away from the vale of tears and enter the world of Nature with its forests, flowers, mountains and streams whose very sight will evoke in his heart indescribable feelings of pleasure. In his bitterness he lists human sufferings which do not touch the bird. But he finds consolation in the idea that man is the recipient of certain gifts of God not given to the *cittu*—wisdom, piety, music and poetry. Man is thus superior in his intellectual as well as spiritual endowments. This is a clear departure from Shelley's philosophy which looks upon the skylark as 'scorner of the ground'. If man sheds hate, pride and fear and is free from suffering, he may aspire to the blissful state of the skylark:

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58. It is reminiscent of the Keatsian flight to the realm of the nightingale on the wings of Poesy.

"Yet if we could scorn
Hate, and pride, and fear;
If we were things born,
Not to shed a tear,
I know not how the joy we ever should come near."

Bharati believes that man can reach this state if to his natural gifts is added a free life like that of the *cittu*. But like Shelley he is also assailed by a doubt about the fulfilment of the heart's desire for perfect happiness.

Then Bharati dwells at length on the positive and negative aspects of the profound philosophy which he derives from the staccato voice of the profound philosophy which he derives from the staccato voice of the *cittu*, 'விடு', 'வீடு', 'விடு'. Here he establishes his superiority to Shelley as philosophical thinker. The two fold message of the bird is that we should not neglect our duties in life but we should give up our base desires and strive for spiritual freedom. 'விடு' has a mystical meaning for Bharati. It is the root of 'வீடு' which is 'விடுதலை' or freedom from human bondage. This is also called ***mukti***. It is not a state that is reached after death. It is liberation of the soul on the earth. Those who achieve this state here will be truly happy. Bharati resolves to strive for true happiness by the grace of Parasakti. The essay on the *cittu* is a passionate plea for living a life of the spirit.

The purely primitive spirit of Shelley's naturalism has been compared with early Aryan poetry by eminent critics.[59] In ancient poetry the activities of nature are described as the activities of living

59. George Brandes: *Naturalism in England*, p. 224. S A. Brooke: *The Lyrics of Shelley', Studies in Poetry.*

beings. Seasons are pictured as gods and giants warring against one another. Shelley's poetry is full of delightful new nature-myths. They occur where-ever his metaphysical theory of the Universe has not intruded into his imagination. His personifications of the earth and the moon in *Prometheus Unbound* are of this type. One of the finest examples of myth-making is the beautiful lyric *The Cloud*:

"I bring fresh showers for the thirsting flowers,
From the seas and the streams;
I bear light shade for the leaves when laid
In their noonday dreams.
From my wings are shaken the dews that waken
The sweet buds every one,
When rocked to rest on their mother's breast,
As she dances about the sun."

These splendid impersonations of the cloud are accompanied by imaginative impersonations of nature like the "sanguine Sunrise with his meteor eyes" and the "orbed maiden" the Moon.

Myth-making occurs frequently in the poetry of Bharati. It is a well known fact that he delved deep into Vedic poetry and evidence of it is found in his commentary on the poetry of the Vedic seers and in his *Vachana Kavithai.* The latter work contains many examples of nature myths. Though handicapped by his conscious effort to imitate Vedic poetry, Bharati has produced new myths, A good example is the description of the wind in the section called The Sun. The forces of nature are impersonated as Gods or Devas as in Vedic literature and they are prayed to and propitiated by the poet. The highly imaginative nature of the myths is somewhat reminiscent of Shelley as for example in the lines

" செவ்வாய், புதன் முதலிய பெண்கள் ஞாயிற்றை வட்ட
மிடுகின்றன.
இவை தமது தந்தைமீது காதல் செலுத்துகின்றன;
அவன் மந்திரத்திலே கட்டுண்டு வரைகடவாது சுழல்
கின்றன."[60]

This is a pure nature - myth. What is interesting about it is the scientific aspect of the myth, the influence of sun on stars and planets, which is neatly presented here in a poetic concept. This is something new in Tamil poetry. Only Shelley in English poetry is known for the mastery of the art of giving a poetic form to scientific facts and the best illustration of it is the poem '*The Cloud*' which, divested of its myths, is a scientific treatise on the origin and activities of the cloud. So it is not difficult to trace the source of Bharati's new myth-making. It may be noted here that the quotation "இனிய இசை சோகமுடையது" in the section '*Sakti*' in ***Vachana Kavithai*** is almost a verbatim translation of a famous line of Shelley "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought".[61]

Bharati's indebtedness to Shelley in primitive myth-making is not clearly manifest in his lyrics. But occasional examples are not wanting. The primitive freshness of his imagination in

"காம முற்று நிலத்தொடு நீரும்
காற்றும் நன்கு தழுவி நகைத்தே
தாம யங்கிநல் லின்புறுஞ் சோதி"[62]

recalls to mind the simplicity and charm of Nature as in

"Twilight, ascending slowly from the east,
Entwined in duskier wreaths her braided locks·
On the fair front and radiant eyes of day."

60. *Vachana Kavithai*, 38, II, ix.
61. *To a Skylark.*
62. *Oliyum Irulum*

Nathaniel Hawthorne describes one of his characters, a poet, as "living on a diet of fog, morning mists, and a slice of the densest cloud within his reach, sauced with moonshine".[63] He may have in mind a poet like Shelley to whom the spectral world is as concrete as the real world. Certainly Shelley's poetry is full of mists, clouds and moonshine. But he is not known to have subsisted on such a repast: Bharati, however, seems to have delighted in living on an aerial diet!

> "நிலாவையும் வானத்து மீனையும் காற்றையும்
> நேர்பட வைத்தாங்கே
> குலாவும் அமுதக் குழம்பைக் குடித்தொரு
> கோல வெறிபடைத்தோம்.[64]

The essence of Nature intoxicates the sensitive poet and provides food for his hungry imagination.

There are occasional direct echoes of Shelley in the poetry of Bharati. The passage

> "முன்னாளில் துன்பின்றி இன்பம்வரா
> தெனப்பெரியோர் மொழிந்தா ரன்றே?"[65]

is reminiscent of the well-known line

'If Winter comes, can spring be far behind?'[66]

An intensely dramatic situation in Shelley's poetic drama, *The Cenci*, has an interesting parallel in *Panchali Sabatham*. The hapless Droupadi makes a heart-rending but vain appeal to the wise and the good and the pious among the courtiers of Duryodhana to save her from public humiliation and disgrace at the hands of a tyrant:

63. *'The Great Carbuncle'*. The Complete Novels And Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ed. by N. H. Pearson, p. 928.
64. *Nilāvum Vānmeenum Kāi um.*
55. *Boopendrar Vijayam.*
66. *Ode to the West Wind.*

"..........................வானசபையில்
கேள்வி பலவுடையோர், கேடிலா நல்லிசையோர்,
வேள்வி தவங்கள் மிகப்புரிந்த வேதியர்கள்,
மேலோ ரிருக்கின்றார், வெஞ்சினமேன்
கொள்கிலரோ?"[67]

Beatrice makes a similar hopeless appeal to the guests of her father to rescue her from the domestic tyrant:

"Dare no one look on me?
None answer? Can one tyrant overbear
The sense of many best and wisest men?
Or is it that I sue not in some form
Of scrupulous law, that ye deny my suit?"[68]

The two identical situations present one tragic phase in the history of human civilization. When the world neglects dharma and encourages adharma, innocence is trampled on by tyranny with impunity. When men lose their reason, justice flees to "brutish beasts'; But the two dramas present two different visions of life, one optimistic and the other pessimistic. The triumph of Duryodhana is short-lived and the honour of Droupadi is vindicated. Nemesis overtakes him. Beatrice, pure and innocent, is sacrificed to the tyranny of man-made institutions.

67. *Panchali Sabatham*, V. 63.
68. *The Cenci*, I, iii, ll. 133 - 136.

The Dutch East India Company and the Kingdom of Madura, 1650-1700

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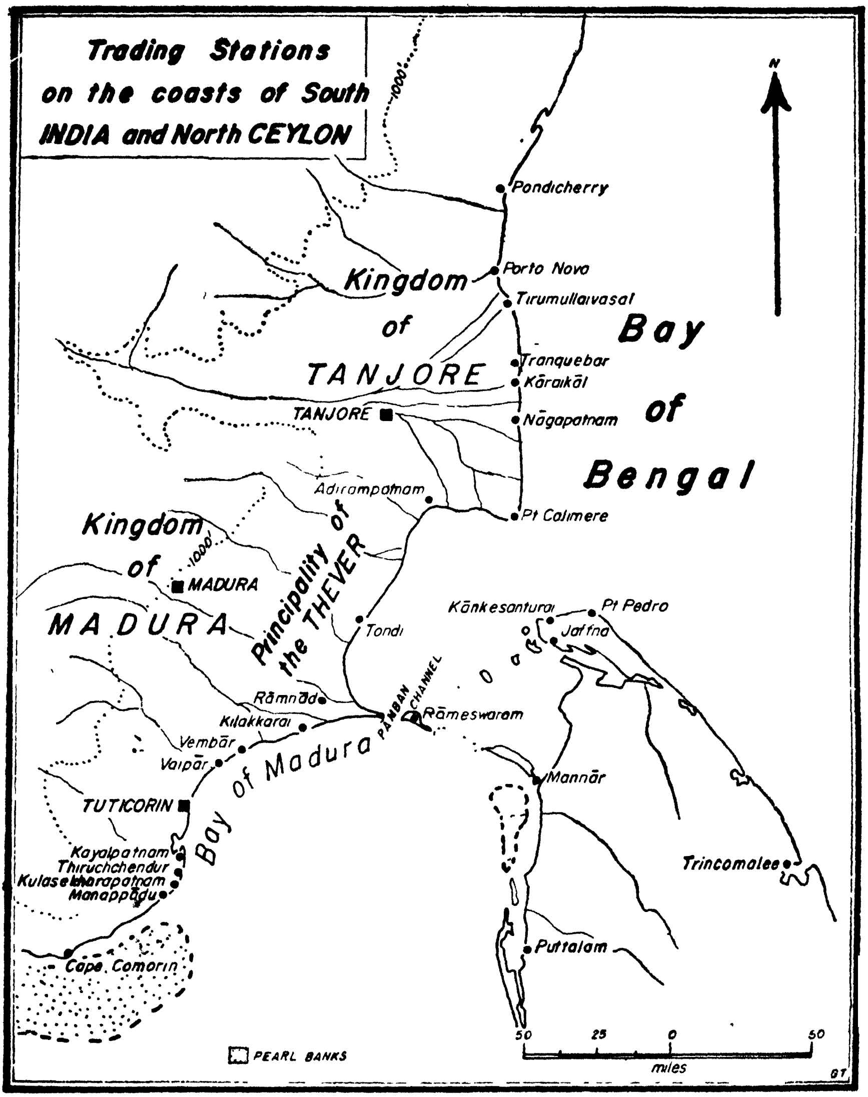
The South Indian coast and the island of Ceylon featured very prominently in the Dutch - Portuguese struggles of the 17th century. The attempts of the Dutch East India Company to wrest the cinnamon lands of Ceylon from the Portuguese power brought them into close contact with the coastline of Madura, situated so close to the West coast of Ceylon and referred to in contemporary Dutch records as the *overcust* or opposite coast, as looked at from Ceylon. With the increasing control of the Company over Ceylon, factors, both strategic and economic, brought them into closer relationship with the peoples and rulers of the lands along the Madura coast. Strategically, this area gave a commanding position over the seas round the west coast of Ceylon. The control of one or more harbours there would enable a power to dominate the seas between India and Ceylon and thus ensure the security of the island from external attack. The Portuguese had felt safer in Ceylon as long as they held Tuticorin on the Indian coast and one of the first things the Dutch did after expelling them from the island was to seize this stronghold. Economically, any power which established itself in Ceylon soon discovered the close commercial ties between the island and South India which provided the island with all its requirements in clothing, part of its rice and other foodstuffs, and consumed the island's entire produce of arecanuts. The firm establishment of Dutch power in Ceylon begins a period of contact



Trading Stations on the coasts of South INDIA and North CEYLON
N
1000'
Pondicherry
Porto Novo
Kingdom of TANJORE
Tirumullaivasal
Bay of Bengal
Tranquebar
Kāraikāl
TANJORE
Nāgapatnam
Adirampatnam
Pt Calimere
Kingdom of MADURA
1000'
MADURA
Principality of the THEVER
Kānkesanturai
Pt Pedro
Jaffna
Tondi
PAMBAN CHANNEL
Rāmnād
Rāmeswaram
Kilakkarai
Vembār
Vaipār
Bay of Madura
Mannār
TUTICORIN
Kayalpatnam
Thiruchchendur
Kulasekharapatnam
Manappādu
Trincomalee
Cape Comorin
Puttalam
50 25 0 50
miles
PEARL BANKS

between the East India Company and the Nayaks of Madura, under whose jurisdiction lay the coast-line from Cape Comorin up to the Straits of Ramesh-varam.

The first Dutch contact with the Nayak of Madura was in 1645 when they obtained a written permission from him to establish trading stations in any of the parts under his jurisdiction. [1] In pursuance of this they set up a factory at Kayalpattinam. The Portuguese viewed with disfavour this settlement of their rivals in an area which had so far been their sphere of influence. They still had considerable influence in Madura and they intrigued with the Nayak's officials against the Dutch. The result was a surprise attack on the Dutch factory in 1648 and the destruction of their goods and the factory itself. Though the Dutch undertook a punitive expedition on the Portuguese stronghold of Tuticorin and forced compensation for the damage done, they decided not to re-establish a settlement either at Kayalpattinam or anywhere else in this area. [2] It was obvious that if the Dutch were to make an impression here they had to root out Portuguese power and influence.

On the expiry of the truce between the Dutch and the Portuguese in 1652, the Dutch resumed their attack on Portuguese possessions in Ceylon. Colombo was taken in 1656 and, in 1658, under Rijkloff van Goens, they took the offensive against the Portuguese possessions of Tuticorin, Mannar and Jaffna. In January 1658, Tuticorin was taken without much opposition and the Dutch had secured a permanent foothold on the Madura coast. But though the Portuguese were expel-

1. *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando* - Indicum, Ed. J. C. Heeres, I, p. 456.
2. Roelofsz, De Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar, pp. 125 - 8.

led from the coast, the Dutch had yet to secure recognition from the sovereign of the land, the Nayak of Madura. The rights exercised by the Portuguese in Tuticorin and the other ports in this area were by no means clear and did not derive from any specific grant by the lord of the land. Theirs was more a process of peaceful penetration that grew gradually, both out of their naval supremacy and the hold they secured over the people of the parava community, the majority of the population, by the spread of the Catholic faith. [3] In time they had secured full jurisdiction over the Parava community who gave them complete loyalty. But they had also to show some recognition of the Nayak's authority. In the pearl fishery situated along the coast, the Nayak was given certain rights. [4]

It was this position which the Dutch inherited in 1658. In two ways itwas soon found to be unsatisfactory. In the first place, the religious affinity with the coastline Paravas which had been so comforting to Portuguese security was not prevalent under the Dutch, for in their reformist zeal they were more hostile to Catholicism than even to non-Christian religions. Secondly, for a greater part of the period of Potuguese supremacy in India they were the only European nation trading in this area and as such were not worried by the problem of European competition. This is probably the reason why they did not seek to define their rights clearly or to get an exclusive grant from the Nayak. The Dutch, on the other hand, were constantly worried by a return of Portuguese power or by attempts by other European traders such as the English and later the French to share the trade of the area.

3. Arunachalam, History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast, pp. 97, 110 - 11.
4. Ibid. p 113.

The primary aim of Dutch policy in the southern tip of India was to establish its power there with a view to ensuring the greater security of its hold over the maritime lands of Ceylon. In order to do this, it was necessary to see to it that Dutch naval power was supreme in the seas between India and Ceylon, and that no rival nation was given a chance to settle down along the South Indian coast. To secure some of these aims the goodwill and co-operation of the Nayak of Madura was necessary. The first step in this direction was taken when in January 1658 the Dutch decided to send Koopman Ooms and Secretary Jacob van Rhee, two senior officers of the Company, in an embassy to the Madura coast. This was the beginning of a chequered history of relation between the Company and Madura. The instructions issued to these officers by Rijkloff van Goens, Supreme Commander of the Company's affairs in India and Ceylon, are an interesting study in the aims of Dutch policy in this region. They were to try to secure exclusive rights of fishing for pearls and chanks in return for payment of a toll of 2%. The Nayak was to be induced to agree not to allow any other European power to trade in the Bay of Madura. In particular, pepper was to be brought into the Nayak's ports only by the Dutch who were also to be given preference in the purchase of rice. An upper limit was to be fixed in the price of rice. Lastly, permission was to be secured from the Nayak for the construction of a fortress at Tuticorin which would be the centre of Dutch power in Madura.[5] This was the type of treaty which the Dutch had proposed and successfully imposed on a number of Asian princes and it fitted into their general line of thinking on Asian trade.

5. Instructions to Koopman Ooms .... prepared by Van Goens, 1 January 1658, Koloniale Archief, The Hague (hereafter referred to as K.A.), 1117 fo 305.

The effect of these terms, if accepted, would have been to make the Kingdom of Madura economically dependent on the East India Company.

As was to be expected, the Dutch officials returned without achieving success on any of the more important of the proposed terms. In reply to the Company's demand to build a fortress at Tuticorin, the Nayak averred that the Portuguese had lived there for over a hundred years without a fort and he did not feel that was necessary. Similarly the Nayak rejected the demand for monopoly of trade and fishing rights and expressed his intention to permit everyone, including Europeans, to trade freely in his domains. [6] He allowed that all Pattangatys Paravas and other Christians along the coast shall remain under the jurisdiction of the Company provided they paid their taxes to the Nayak. This meant that, for the time being at least, the Dutch power had to continue in the Madura coast with rights similar to those held by the Portuguese, no less and no more. The Dutch were not at all satisfied with this state of affairs, the men on the spot (the Ceylon officials) less so than the Batavian Government and the Directors. They had already begun to experience trouble with the Paravas on matters of religion. Rev. Baldaeus of the Dutch Reformed Church was sent to convert the Catholic Paravas to Protestantism. He met with remarkably stiff resistance. [7] There was a spirit of insubordination among them and this was by no means good for the healthy progress of the settlement of Tuticorin.

Another, and in many respects more difficult, problem was rearing its head. The English East India

6. Corpus Dip...II, pp. 145 - 9.
7. Baldaeus, Naawkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Coromandel en het Eyland Ceylon, p. 150.

Company was now interested in making more contacts with the cloth producing centres all along the coast of South India. This brought them into the Bay of Madura which being neutral seas was navigable by any trader. The villages in the hinterland of the coast of Madura were well-known for the production of cheap cloth and early in 1659 the English were seeking to establish a factory somewhere here. The first Englishman to sail into the Bay was Hoddedson. He attempted to land first at Tuticorin but the Dutch "would not suffer to receive any benefit of share, not so much as water". He proceeded to Old Kayl (Pannekayl) where he was more favourably received by the Indian merchants who saw in the coming of the English an opportunity to enlarge the trade of the region and break down the tendency of the Dutch to monopolise it. On approval by the authorities at Surat, a factory with three English merchants and small capital was set up at Kayalpattinam in February 1659. [8] This infringement on what the Dutch held to be their own sphere of influence was a source of great irritation to the Dutch authorities in Ceylon but there was nothing they could do about it. However much the Ceylon officials desired to exclude forcibly the English, and, indeed, all other Europeans from the Bay, the Government at Batavia did not think that they could do this with any right and did not want to embroil the English, a nation with whom the Dutch were then at peace. [9] They settled down to participate in the trade in open competition.

In time there came an increasing awareness of the possibilities of trade in Madura. Apart from the pearl fishery, where the Dutch inherited the rights enjoyed

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8. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1655 - 60, pp. 218 - 19.

9. Governor General and Council to Van Goens, 28 August 1660, K. A. 787 fo. 381, Governor General and Council to Van Goens 4 November 1660, K A. 787 ff. 690 - 3.

by the Portuguese, there were other avenues of profitable trade. Weavers of Madura villages specialised in the turning out of a single piece coarse cotton cloth called *kachchai* (in Tamil) widely used by the peasantry as loin cloth-practically the only article of clothing that covered their bodies. There was also in vogue the expert painting of pretty designs on cloth and the dyeing of cloth into bright colours with the use of natural dyes extracted from the root of a plant called *sayai* which grew wild in north Ceylon and South India. Chanks (*sangu*) fished all along the coast were in demand in certain parts of North India where they were used for making bangles and other ornaments. During years of good harvest there was always a surplus of rice that could be exported, besides a multitude of other articles of daily use. The many sided nature of trade here maybe gauged from the fact that at times it was even possible to buy up slaves in large numbers. This happened in times of famine and destitution in the land when whole families were prepared to sell themselves to slavery than starve to death in their villages. Cloth, however, constituted, far and above, the biggest single item of trade of the area. It was soon realised that Madura would not only provide cloth necessary for the Ceylon market, as she had been doing even before the Dutch came there, but could be made to supply cloth for sale in the East Indies and even for export to Europe. If the necessary contact could be made with the weavers, dyers and painters in the villages and if there was sufficient security to safeguard sizable investments of capital, then Madura could be made into yet another important link in the Company's Asian trade system. In recognition of this the Batavian Government issued instructions that residence be established also in the six other ports in

the Kingdom manned by one or two Dutch soldiers, viz; Vembar, Vaipar, Pandecayl, Kayalpattinam, Manapar and Pattananandur. [10]

How far the Nayak of Madura would countenance Dutch attempts to entrench themselves further on the coast was another matter. His first reaction, as has already been seen, had been a firm resistance against all attempts to arrogate to themselves more powers than those held by the Portuguese. But, unfortunately for the Nayak, conditions were not propitious for the maintenance of this pressure against the Dutch. Both internal dissensions and external invasion diverted the attention of the rulers of Madura from their coastal possessions. After the death of Thirumala Nayak in 1659, this dynasty could not produce men of equal ability or stature. It was also the beginning of Islamic invasions from Bijapore which belaboured the country for a long time. Moreover, the Nayak had trouble with both the Nayak of Tanjore and Ragunatha Thevar and in 1665 he made the first of his appeals to the Dutch for help against his enemies. [11] The Dutch, however, were reluctant to be drawn into the internal dispute of the area, as it was in the interests of their trade to be in good relations with both the Nayak of Madura and the Thevar. Instructions given by the Batavian Government to the Ceylon officials was to sidetrack the Nayak's demands for assistance and use their good offices to bring about peace between the two parties. The Ceylon Government could report in September 1665 that this was successfully achieved. [12] As a con-

10. Memoir for Van Goens from Governor General and Council, 5 September 1664, K. A. 791 fo. 416.
11. Governor General and Council to Van Goens, 13 September 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 463.
12. Resolutions of Governor General and Council 26 June 1665, K. A. 580, p. 169; Governor General and Council to Van Goens, 11 July 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 238; Governor General and Council to Van Goens, 13 September 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 463.

sequence far from being kept in their place by the Nayak, Dutch influence in the area was increasing steadily.

Dutch trade was also expanding correspondingly. In 1665 Dutch powers in Ceylon underwent a wide territorial expansion and this gave them control over almost all the seaports and added considerably to the number of inhabitants under them. It enhanced their position in relation to the Indo-Ceylon trade for with the control of these ports the trade was almost entirely at their mercy. It also meant a larger market for the sale of cloth and the purchase of arecanuts to be sold in South India. Rough estimates by officials in Ceylon and Tuticorin assessed that about thirty to forty thousand pieces of *kachchai* cloth from Tuticorin could be sold in Ceylon, and Madura could consume about twenty thousand amanams [13] of Ceylon nuts per year.[14] It was also reported from Batavia that the painted cloth sent from Tuticorin had sold well there and hence they were prepared to invest more on this trade. [15] This was in spite of the fact that the rate of exchange prevalent at Madura was different from that on the Coromandel coast. Whereas in Madura one Pagoda was equivalent to 120 Dutch Stuivers, in Coromandel it was reckoned at 105 Stuivers. [16] This made the Madura cloth dearer in terms of Dutch capital paid for it than the cloth in various ports of the Coromandel coast. In spite of this disad-

13. A standard of measure used, among other things, in respect of arecanuts, varying district to district from 20,000 to 24,000 single nuts. On Madura coast it is generally 24,000.

14. Governor-General and Council to Van Goens, 13 September 1665, K. A. 792 fo. 467. Governor-General and Council to Van Goens, 13 September 1666, K. A. 793 fo. 550.

15. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 29 March 1667, K. A. 794 fo. 160.

16. Van Goens to Directors, 30 November 1670, K. A. 1164 f. 9.

vantage cloth sent from Tuticorin was able to hold its own in East Indian markets. In the face of all these advantages, actual and potential, the Ceylon Government renewed its former advocacy of a more forceful policy in Madura. So far the main benefits of the Indo-Ceylon trade were reaped largely by Muslim traders who were indigenous to this coast and lived in the domains of the Nayak and the Thevar. The Dutch had to buy and sell in the open market and this they found very irksome. The Ceylon officials advocated monopolising of the trade at both ends and the expulsion of the Muslims from it. For this it was necessary to lodge more power in Tuticorin and, therefore, a fortress there was a basic necessity-with the Nayak's consent, if possible, if not by the use of force. [17]

This forms the background to the second Dutch embassy to be sent to the Madura coast in the end of 1667 under the leadership of Hendrick Adrian van Rheede. [18] He was instructed to negotiate a new treaty with the Nayak. He was to ask specifically for monopoly rights in trade to the exclusion of all other Europeans, permission to build a fortress at Tuticorin and the confirmation of the existing privileges over the Christian Paravas and the pearl fishery. [19] Van Rheede failed to secure any of the additional concessions he asked for; the Dutch believed that this was because of the 'machinations of the Catholic priests and paravas'. [20] The authorities at Batavia were

17. Van Goens to Directors, 25 January 1668, K. A. 1668, K. A. 1152 ff. 254-5.

18. A highly influential member of the Company's service. In 1669 he became Commander of Malabar. Subsequently in 1684 he was appointed Commissary to inquire into the administration of all the Company's territories West of Malacca.

19. Van Goens to Directors, 25 January 1668, K. A. 1152 fo. 253.

20. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 7 October 1668, K. A. 795 fo. 627.

opposed to the view of the Ceylon officials that they should proceed forcibly with the construction of a fortress at Tuticorin. They suggested that the large Franciscan Church in the city could be altered into a stronghold and made defensible from attack by mounting guns and stationing within it about 80 soldiers. [21]

In 1669 the Nayak launched a sudden attack on the city of Tuticorin. The reasons for this attack are not clear from the Dutch records. It may be conjectured that the Nayak resented Dutch attempts to fortify the city stealthily when he had repeatedly refused them permission for a fortress. Some differences also seem to have arisen over the extent of control that the native authority had over the Parava inhabitants of Tuticorin. [22] The attack caught the Dutch unawares and they had to summon relief from Colombo. When help arrived the Dutch counter-attacked and drove the Maduresе away with considerable loss of life to the latter. [23] The Dutch decided to use this opportunity to re-open negotiations and contract a firm treaty, and the Governor of Ceylon, Rijkloff van Goens, himself went across to Tuticorin to achieve this. Discussions took place between van Goens and the Nayak's Governor of the coastal districts, Barmialappe Pulle. Once again the exclusive right of trade and permission to build a fortress featured as the main demands. [24] A draft was agreed upon between the two parties where the Dutch were given permission to build a stone building that would serve them to protect their assets in Tuticorin. They were satisfied because they thought they could construct this building as a small fortress. [25]

21. Ibid.
22. Van Goens to Directors, 22 January 1669, K. A. 1156 ff. 591-4.
23. Van Goens to Directors, 9 January 1670, K. A. 1160 ff. 12-13.
24. Ibid. fo. 15
25. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 31 July 1670, K. A. 797 ff. 439-40.

In the meanwhile war seems to have broken out again between the Nayak and Thevar and the draft treaty was never confirmed by the Nayak.

Towards the end of 1670 the political situation in Madura became confused and remained so till 1672. There was a tangle of intrigue and counter-intrigue involving almost all the ruling princes of the region, the Nayak of Madura, the Nayak of Tanjore, the Nayak of Gingee and the Thevar. The growing power and influence of the Thevar and his consequent attitude of arrogance towards the Nayak of Madura made the latter think along the lines of a large scale attack on the Thevar in order to suppress his power before it was too late. With this end in view he was seeking to come to some understanding with the two neighbouring Nayaks who were not averse to expanding their territories at the expense of the Thevar. To the Nayak of Madura, the Dutch appeared to be natural allies in this venture as the growing power of the Thevar also stood in the way of Dutch trade. They had suffered innumerable little pinpricks in the course of their trading activity in this area from the subjects of the Thevar for which they found it impossible to get any form of redress from the Thevar's administration. The Nayak made overtures to the Dutch officials at Tuticorin and sought Dutch help in a war he would wage against the Thevar.[26] To the Dutch this appeared to be an ideal opportunity to transform their relations with the Nayak to a better footing and to strengthen their legal and actual hold on the coast of Madura. But the fact of having to engage in armed conflict against one of the sovereigns of the land in a region where their interest was purely commercial

26. Secret Minutes of Political Council of Ceylon, 8 January 1670, *Dutch Records (Ceylon)* 738.

went against the grain of their policy. The officials at Tuticorin were very much in favour of entering into agreement with the Nayak and hence the Government of Ceylon sent Opperkoopman Pyl on a deputation to the Nayak to secure from him some definite promise before the Dutch could commit themselves.[27] The Nayak's officers laid before the Dutch deputation their plans for the attack on the Thevar and requested that the Dutch should besiege and capture the island of Rameswaram. The Dutch demanded that in return for their help the island of Rameswaram and the Straits of Pambanar shall be in their hand as also all the ports in the Thevar's lands. There were then the stock demands for the right to put up buildings in their trading stations in the Nayak's lands and the right to keep away all other Europeans from the area. [28] The Nayak was prepared to concede these demands and the Governor and Council of Ceylon approved the granting of help to the Nayak and wrote to Batavia for a thousand soldiers. [29] The whole scheme was strongly disapproved of by the Batavian Government which raised several objections. Furtheremore, the Nayak's attentions were temporarily diverted to the north where a Bijaporean army had begun one of its marauding raids. Once he was relieved of his pressure from the north, the Nayak did return to pursue his plans against the Thevar and war broke out in 1672 and continued till early in 1673. Now tbe Dutch officials, on instructions from Batavia, maintained a policy of strict neutrality between the contending parties. [30]

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27. Secret Minutes of Political Councit of Ceylon, 11 March 1671.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., 15 April 1671.
30. Van Goens, the younger, to Directors, 6 February 1673, K.A. 1182 ff. 24-5.

The war had adverse effects on the trade of the area. The quantity of cloth procurable was greatly reduced. There was a general exodus of weavers and merchants from the Nayak's land both to the East and to the West. This came at a very unfortunate time for the Dutch because at this very time they had imposed controls on private traders sailing to Ceylon ports with a view to taking over this trade entirely into the Company's hands. This war came to an end early in 1673.

Hardly had the differences between Thevar and Madura been settled, than another war broke out in this region, this time between Madura and Tanjore. The Madura Nayak attacked Tanjore, defeated the reigning Nayak as viceroy of Tanjore. [31] Nagapatnam, which was then held by the Dutch, was situated in the Kingdom of Tanjore and the Dutch were concerned about the recognition of their rights by the new lord of the land. Former Nayaks had already done this in *cauls* granted by them and hence the Dutch sought the same from the new overlords. A contract was entered into between the Dutch and the ruler of Tanjore, acting on behalf of the Nayak of Madura by which the Dutch were confirmed in their former rights in return for a fee of 3,000 Pardaus and a tusked elephant to be delivered every year to the Nayak of Madura. [32] The Madura Nayak's control over Tanjore and hence this treaty were, however, shortlived, as Ekoji, the Bijapur general, attacked Tanjore in 1675 and defeated the Nayak's protege.

From 1675, Madura was engaged at war simultaneously against Ekoji, Thevar and the ruler of

31. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Two Silver plate grants from the Batavia Museum in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land en Volk kuude* LXXXI, pp. 1-19.

32. Contract van aliantie en vreede by R. Van Goens...gesloten met Cawatte, Naik van Tanjore...13 Spetember 1674, K. A. 1188 fo. 529.

Mysore. The Governor of Ceylon pleaded with the authorities that this was the best opportunity to put his old plan into operation. He pointed out that if, in these disturbing times, the city of Tuticorin was well fortified it could provide a safe refuge to the merchants and artisans who were fleeing from the ravages of war in the interior. He asked for permission to attack the Nayak when he was hard pressed on all sides and extract from him these concessions he had consistently refused.[33] But at this very time the Dutch were having heavy military commitments in Ceylon and could not find the necessary soldiers to undertake an expedition against the Nayak. Both the Batavian Government and the Directors were against any further expansion in this region. Compulsion being ruled out, the Ceylon Government now tried more persuasive means. The above wars had exhausted the financial resources of Madura and more than once potential invaders had to be bought off with considerable money. The Nayak was badly in need of money. The Dutch now hit upon the idea of giving the Nayak a loan in return for the concessions they sought. Huisman, a high-ranking official in Ceylon, was sent across to Tuticorin to negotiate on this basis. The Dutch would give the Nayak three tusked elephants, copper and cash-amounting in all to 12,000 Rix Dollars-in return for which they would ask for the lease of four places in Madura-Kaylpattinam, Kulasegarapatnam, Atur and Tuticorin. [34] An agreement was entered into and the Dutch lent the Nayak 12,000 Rix Dollars which was reckoned in the following manner:

33. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 11 October 1675, K. A. 1197, ff. 72-3.

34. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 10 July 1676, K. A. 7205, ff. 118-19.

3 Elephants [35]	....	4,800	Rix Dollars
9¼ bhars copper (480 Dutch Pounds each bhar)	....	1,200	,,
Cash	....	6,000	,,
		12,000	

This was held to be in payment as lease for the four places as follows:

Tuticorin	....	2,700	Rix Dollars
Kaylpatnam	....	3,900	,,
Kulasegarapatnam	....	3,600	,,
Atur	....	1,800	,,
		12,000.[36]	

Huisman also reported at the same time that greater direct contact should be made with the weavers in villages and suggested that it would be useful if the village of Atur were also taken in lease. At the same time permission was obtained from the Nayak to establish a mint in Atur from which Fanams and Pagodas could be turned out. [37]

As a result of this agreement, relations between Madura and the Dutch was, for the moment, so good that the Batavian Government instructed the Ceylon Government to support the Nayak in his war against Ekoji with four to five hundred Dutch soldiers, some topasses and artillery. [38] This was contrary to general Dutch policy in this area which had so far been one

35. The elephants would have cost the Dutch nothing as they were captured in their territories in Ceylon.
36. Governor General and Council to Directors, 26 November 1676, K. A. 1204 fo. 166.
37. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 5 March 1677, K. A. 1213, fo. 16.
38. Governor General and Council to Van Goens the Younger, 18 May 1677, K. A. 804, fo. 213.

of scrupulous non-intervention in the innumerable wars that were taking place there. It can only be explained in terms of Dutch relations with Ekoji which had worsened in 1677. After he had successfully usurped power in Tanjore, Ekoji was pressing on the Dutch city of Nagapatnam and refusing to recognise their position there. Hence the Dutch were considering an all out war on him along the whole Tanjore coast with a view to bringing him to heel.[39] In the midst of all these troubles, in Madura the reigning Nayak Chokkanatha was deposed and his brother Muttulinga Nayak took over the administration of the country.[40] He sent a deputation to Tuticorin soliciting Dutch assistance against Ekoji and it seemed as if this request would be granted. But by September 1677 relations between the Dutch and Ekoji had improved considerably and the earlier enthusiasm to participate in the war against him had cooled off. No direct assistance was forthcoming to the Madura Nayak and this was probably what enraged him to make a violent attack on Tuticorin and plunder money and goods.[41]

Such incidents were occurring more frequently now owing to the decline of political authority. Local Governors would request loans from Dutch factors and if refused resort to force. They would seek to impose more than the legitimate tolls on the Dutch or would try to tax the Paravas, contrary to accepted practice. These incidents and the general decline of trade and economy because of the troublous times showed the

39. Ibid.

40. Sathyanathaier (*History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 181) assigns this event to 1678, but the Dutch records make definite reference to it in June 1677. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 11 June 1677, K. A. 1213, ff. 40-1.

41. Governor General and Council to Directors, 15 February 1678, K. A. 1212, fo. 563.

Dutch how dependent was their position on the political conditions of the area. Tuticorin was not constructed in such a way as to defend it from attacks from inland, nor would the lord of the land permit the construction of defence works. Obstacles were put in the way of trade even in places like Kulasegarapatnam where they had certain privileges by virtue of the lease they had obtained. On such occasions the only remedy open to the Dutch was to blockade the ports by sea and this made the native power climb down. [42] There was also a suggestion that the chief residence on the coast be transferred from Tuticorin to Pannekayl where a fort ought to be constructed. This place was also held to be closer to the villages where cloth was woven. But the authorities did not want a change at that stage. They felt that the wisest course was to depend on sea power and carry on the trade as best as they could.

Again in 1680 the political fortunes of Madura took a turn for the worse. Both from Mysore in the north and by the Thevar in the east the Kingdom was attacked and parts of it annexed. Again the problem of fortifying the coastal stations came to the fore and yet another Dutch deputation that sought this was rebuffed. [43] This was now becoming almost a hardy annual. The local Governor, far from permitting any new construction, was even suspicious of any repair work on the old and dilapidated structures that were already there. In the following year, Van Rhee, Officer in-Charge at Tuticorin, suggested a high powered embassy to Madura with a sizable gift to the Nayak to negotiate a fresh treaty. He felt that the

42. Governor General and Council to Van Goens the Younger, 21 September 1679, K. A. 806, fo. 1005.

43. Laurence Pyl to Governor General and Council, 18 June 1680, K. A. 1244, fos. 21-22.

time was most opportune for the step. The terms offered should be comprehensive and cover all outstanding points of dispute. The Dutch were to be given the right to trade freely, without tolls, in the interior of the country and the Company's native merchants and weavers too were to enjoy these rights. They were also to be granted the rights to put up stone buildings and surround them with walls, if necessary. The rights of the Dutch over the Paravas were to be confirmed and they were to be granted further the right to keep other European nations out of the Nayak's lands. [44] This projected embassy does not seem to have come through.

In the years 1681-2, a large part of the Kingdom of Madura was overrun by Mysore and the Thevar. The Dutch took advantage of this preoccupation of the Nayak to stealthily construct defence works round the city of Tuticorin. By 1613 the city was completely walled in. The lands round Tuticorin was then under the control of the Thevar with whom Dutch relations were not good. There were a number of outstanding disputes between the two parties and the Thevar challenged more vigorously than the Nayak Dutch attempts to monopolise the trade of the Bay. The Thevar was bleeding white his newly acquired land round Tuticorin, showing scant respect even to Dutch officials or their rights. There was even a threat of invasion of Tuticorin and reinforcements were rushed there from Ceylon with instructions to meet force effectively with force. [45] It was now realised that the restoration of the authority of the Madura Nayak over his lands was the least of

44. Pyl to Governor General and Council, 25 August 1681, K. A. 1253, fo. 124.
45. Pyl to Governor General and Council, 3 July 1682, K. A. 1262, ff. 44-5.

possible evils and consequently the Dutch decided to give him assistance secretly, not with Dutch soldiers but with arms and ammunition. [46]

Though by the end of 1683 the Nayak had succeeded in establishing his position in the north by the expulsion of the Mysore invaders, in the south he decided to give over all lands along the coast to the Thevar as payment for the help given to him in the war against Mysore. The Thevar set about collecting taxes from these lands and appointed Periathamby Marikkar, a coastal Muslim, as his chief tax collector. This brought up once more the old enmity between the Paravas and Muslims. The Paravas refused absolutely to submit to Muslim administrative officials of the Thevar and it led to a number of incidents. Van Rhee himself proceeded there to patch up the differences between the two parties but these attempts were of no avail. Finally the Dutch decided to take up the matter with the Thevar and a Brahmin from Jaffna, Timmersa, was sent to negotiate with him. [47] This and other disputes between the Dutch and the Thevar were only settled after a punitive expedition undertaken against him by the Dutch in 1684. A treaty was signed in August 1684 between the two parties where among other things, the Dutch were confirmed in the privileges they held in Madura when these lands were under the Nayak. [48] In the following year once again war broke out between the Nayak and the Thevar and the latter was forced to retire from the lands round Tuticorin.

The repeated failure of the attempts to contract the Nayak for exclusive trading rights inthe seas round

46. Ibid.
47. Pyl to Governor General and Council, 3 July 1684, K. A. 1285, ff. 14-15.
48. *Corpus Dip.* III, pp. 370-7.

Madura had repercussions on Dutch policy towards trade and traffic in this area. It has already been noted that they had to suffer the establishment of an English factory at Kaylpatnam, but soon after the second Anglo-Dutch war broke out in Europe, the Dutch attacked the factory in 1665, took John Harrington the factor prisoner and seized all the goods. [49] For sometime after this the question of whether other Europeans had the right to enter the Bay and trade in Madura was mainly a theoretical one. None bothered to come in and challenge Dutch position there. Officials from Ceylon, basing their rights on the fact of conquest from the Portuguese of Tuticorin and Ceylon, were of the view that this entire region was their preserve. No foreigner could enter the seas East of Cape Comerin up to the Pamban Straits. They would even extend this extravagant interpretation of Dutch rights to the pearl fishery off the Indian coast where by virtue of their control over the seas, they felt that they could enjoy the benefits exclusively. They would, in fact, convert the Bay of Madura and the Pamban Straits into a Dutch lake. The higher authorities both in Batavia and in Holland were more concerned with legal rights. [50] There was no document or other tangible evidence on which such above rights could be claimed. When they were at war with a particular nation, then they could proceed against ships of that nation, as they did against the English in 1665. Unlike in Ceylon, where they enjoyed sovereignty over parts of the Island, in South India, there was no territory they could call their own, not even Tuticorin. The presence of Dutch factors in all the seven ports of Madura

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49. Governor General and Council to Directors, 30 January 1666, K. A. 1142 fo. 263.

50. Governor General and Council to Van Goens, the younger, 26 September 1676, K. A. 803, ff. 399-400.

in residencies under the Dutch flag did not give them rights over the entire harbour. In the 70's, competition among Europeans for Indian trade increased immensely, and fear of their entry into this region became more practical. The English and the French were interested in this area and were seeking to establish trading contracts. The Directors advised utmost caution in dealing with these foreign vessels and always decried the use of force. Instructions given to the officers at Tuticorin at the rumoured appearance of an English vessel at Pannakayl shows the cautious attitude of the Dutch. The English were to be addressed in a friendly manner and told that no other European vessel may come into any of the ports, but if the English insisted on staying there they were to be tolerated.[51] There was no question of using force against them. These powers had every right to establish contact with the native rulers of the area. The Dutch could only prevent this by diplomacy and tact, by themselves keeping on the good side of the rulers and offering them incentives similar to what they would get by dealing with others. It was thus the good fortune of the Dutch that no Europeans in this period made a sustained effort to penetrate this area.

More rough and ready methods were, however, pursued towards Indian traders. There was a considerable Muslim population in and around this coast who carried on this trade in the main and also some Hindu Chetties. It was neither feasible nor desirable to eliminate them from the trade, though the Dutch found their competition troublesome and not producing as much profits as a monopoly would. The traditional policy of native kings towards trade was the policy of 'open door'. But, possessed of far superior

51. Minutes of Political Council of Ceylon, 6 May 1686, Dutch Records (Ceylon) 29.

naval power as they were, it was easier for the Dutch to deal forcibly with these local traders. A system of passes was initiated for those seeking to sail into the Bay, the intention of which was to keep a check on the nature of goods transported by them. No native traders could carry or deal in cinnamon or pepper. These were monopolies of the Company. After the Indo-Ceylon trade was taken over by the Dutch, the sale of Ceylon arecanuts in South Indian markets, which had so far been done by the native traders, now became a Dutch monopoly. Arecanut now became contraband for native traders. The inevitable consequence of thus restricting the trade in arecanuts was to put up its price all along the coast and this in turn led to the entry of nuts of a different type from Malabar. This affected the sale of the Ceylon produce and Dutch immediately retaliated by clamping down controls on the entry of vessels with arecanuts from Malabar. This involved the vital principle of free traffic in the Bay of Madura and the stage was set for a big dispute between the Dutch and local trading interests. The Dutch officials in Ceylon instructed the Tuticorin Comptoir to carry on a day and night patrol of the seas round Cape Comerin and inspect all native vessels that sailed there. If any of them were seen to carry arecanuts, they were to be seized and confiscated.[52] A system of passes was instituted and any vessel seeking to sail East of Cape Comerin had to carry a Dutch pass. No foreign passes, English or French, were respected. When this policy was put into operation it ran up against widespread opposition. The merchants of Malabar, who carried on most of this trade, had the support of their respective monarchs. The suspension of this trade affected

52. Governor-General and Council to Pyl, 2 October 1680, K. A. 807 fo. 1120; Pyl to Directors, 9 January 1681, K. A. 1244 fo. 72.

both the merchants and their sovereigns. It aroused widespread dissatisfaction against the Dutch in the Malabar regions. One of the monarchs who reacted strongly was the Queen of Attingen, who refused to allow the Dutch to purchase cloth in her lands unless they released the vessels they had confiscated.[53] The Dutch commander in Malabar, Adrian van Rheede, was himself constrained to protest on behalf of the traders against the high-handedness of this policy.[54] The rulers of Malabar could easily retaliate against Dutch interests in their domains and this would lead to serious complications. A closer examination of the legal position convinced the authorities in Batavia that they had no right to take this action and hence they recommended that this forceful policy be soft pedalled.[55] In spite of a strict watch, smuggling did take place and in any case it was always possible to bring the nuts by the overland route where Dutch had no control. So the more sensible alternative was to lower the price of the Ceylon nuts and though the profits declined as a consequence, this decline was more than made up by the increase in quantity sold.

The treaty contracted in the middle of 1690 between the Dutch and the Nayak of Madura gave the Dutch the concession and was to them the most favourable of all treaties entered into in our period. The reigning Nayak was Renga Kistna Muttu Wirappa Nayak (1682-1691) who was very favourably disposed towards the Dutch. In their increasing financial distress the Nayak and his courtiers were becoming

53. Pyl to Governor-General and Council, 3 July 1682, K. A. 1262, fo. 47.

54. Governor of Ceylon to Governor General and Council, 11 June 1677, K. A. 1213 ff. 27-8. *Memoir written in the year 1677, by Hendrick Adrian van Rheede, Commander of Malabar.. ...for his successor* (Madras, 1911), pp. 31-32.

55. Governor-General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 21 November 1680, K. A. 808 fo. 1622.

more and more dependent on the Dutch who utilised this to good purpose without giving away too much. At this time, Adrian van Rheede, who had been appointed Commissary of the Company's affairs West of Malacca, had taken residence in Ceylon and was seeking to establish Dutch position in this area on a firmer foundation. He set about negotiating with the Nayak Renga Kistna and in August 1690 a treaty was signed.[56] The first clause of this treaty stipulated that henceforth when the officers of the Nayak's court sent *olas* to the Company's officers they shall preface *olas* with the words *doet eerbiedigheyt* (does revere) written before the names of the Company's officers. This was the first time that such stipulation had been made and was indicative of the enhanced position the Dutch had begun to occupy in relation to the Nayak of Madura. Clause 3 of this treaty granted to the Dutch the right of monopoly which they have been seeking for so many years. It stated that no European nation, outside the Company, shall be permitted to live or carry on trade on this coast. The principle of mutual help in case of enemy attack on either party was accepted in clause 7. The acceptance of this obligation by the Dutch was a further change in Dutch policy, signifying the greater influence they wielded in this area.

In the last decade of the 17th century, there are signs that the Dutch were becoming increasingly uneasy about their monopolistic position in Madura. Rumours were reaching them, through their spies in the country that both the English and the French were seeking to negotiate with the Regent Queen Mangammal who was administering the kingdom in the name of the late Nayak's son Vijaya Ranga Chokka Natha. Instruction issued from Batavia enjoined the officials

56. *Corpus Dip.* III, pp. 528-30.

on the spot to take the utmost care and precaution against these moves and in particular to prevent the French, with whom the Dutch were then at war, from gaining an entry into the Madura court.[57]

To sum up, the aims of Dutch policy in this region in the period under review is thus seen to have been the securing of monopoly rights from the sovereign and the establishment of their power there in such strength as to be independent of the native authority. As a source for the supply of cloth to supplement and even supersede the markets of Coromandel, where competition of both European and Indian merchants was fierce, the Madura area was invaluable. The major obstacle was that the country was so much subject to wars and unrest that at times it was impossible to carry on peaceful and profitable trade. The Dutch hoped to build up Tuticorin into a city well-fortified both against attacks on land and on sea and thus attract artisans and craftsmen who would then carry on working in peace irrespective of what was happening in the rest of the country. The rulers, however, would not permit this. In securing trade monopoly, their policy of the time was to contract with the native sovereign a treaty which would make them the only European power that could settle and trade in the land. Armed with this treaty they would confront other European competitors and refuse them entry into that region. The Madura Nayaks refused to grant them this vital concession for a long time and gave in later only when their own position had become weaker and they were financially dependent on the Dutch. Inwardly the Dutch knew that such contracts were not inviolable and very often the English and French had, in other

57. Governor General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 13 August 1695, 23 November 1695. See *Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee for his successor Gerrit de Heere* (Colombo, 1915), pp. 38-39.

places, refused to recognise these exclusive rights. They also knew that if the Nayak found it more advantageous to ally with other European rulers he would not hesitate to do so. They would have to defend their claims with force. From the point of view of trade, the Madura ports were a fair prize for the Dutch, though they did not live upto their early promise because of the unsettled nature of the land. From the standpoint of Dutch power in Ceylon they were invaluable in providing a greater sense of security to the island. With the beginning of the 18th century, however, the interest of the English and the French in South India increased immensely as also did their influence and the comparative tranquillity of the earlier period was no more.

Indianised Inscriptions in North-Western Malaya

ALASTAIR LAMB

This paper is not intended as a detailed study of Malayan inscriptions, but rather as a catalogue of these inscriptions—which are far from numerous—and as a guide to the literature about them. I include under the term inscription not only lithic texts but also small inscribed objects of metal, stone and clay bearing in some cases no more than a single letter or symbol. All the inscriptions dealt with here are in Indian scripts and languages, but I have used the term 'Indianised' rather than 'Indian' because there is no evidence that any of them were executed by Indians, that is to say by persons from the Indian sub-continent who had migrated across the Bay of Bengal. These inscriptions tell us much about the nature of Indian *cultural* impact on the territory which now forms the Federation of Malaya; but they do not indicate in themselves any measure of Indian *political* influence. Our knowledge of the people who made these inscriptions, or who brought them to Malaya, is at present very slight; and it would be rash indeed, at this time, to base any elaborate historical theory upon them. All the inscriptions and inscribed objects referred to here have been discovered in four Malayan States, Perlis, Kedah, Province Wellesley and Perak, and they all date from before the 15th century of the Christian Era and the coming of Islam to Malaya.

1. MAHĀNĀVIKA BUDDHA GUPTA INSCRIPTION (Pl. 1)

Discovered by Colonel Low, over a century ago, near the south bank of the River Muda in Province Wellesley, this inscribed slate slab, 2′2″ high, is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Three faces of the slab are inscribed, and one face also has the outline of a *stupa*. The text, in three distinct parts, has been transliterated by B. Ch. Chhabra as follows:

a. ajñānāc=cîyate karmma janmanaḥ kārana[m] jñānān= na cîyate [karmma karmmābhāvān= na jāyate]

b. mahānāvika buddha guptasya raktamrittikavās [tavayasya?]

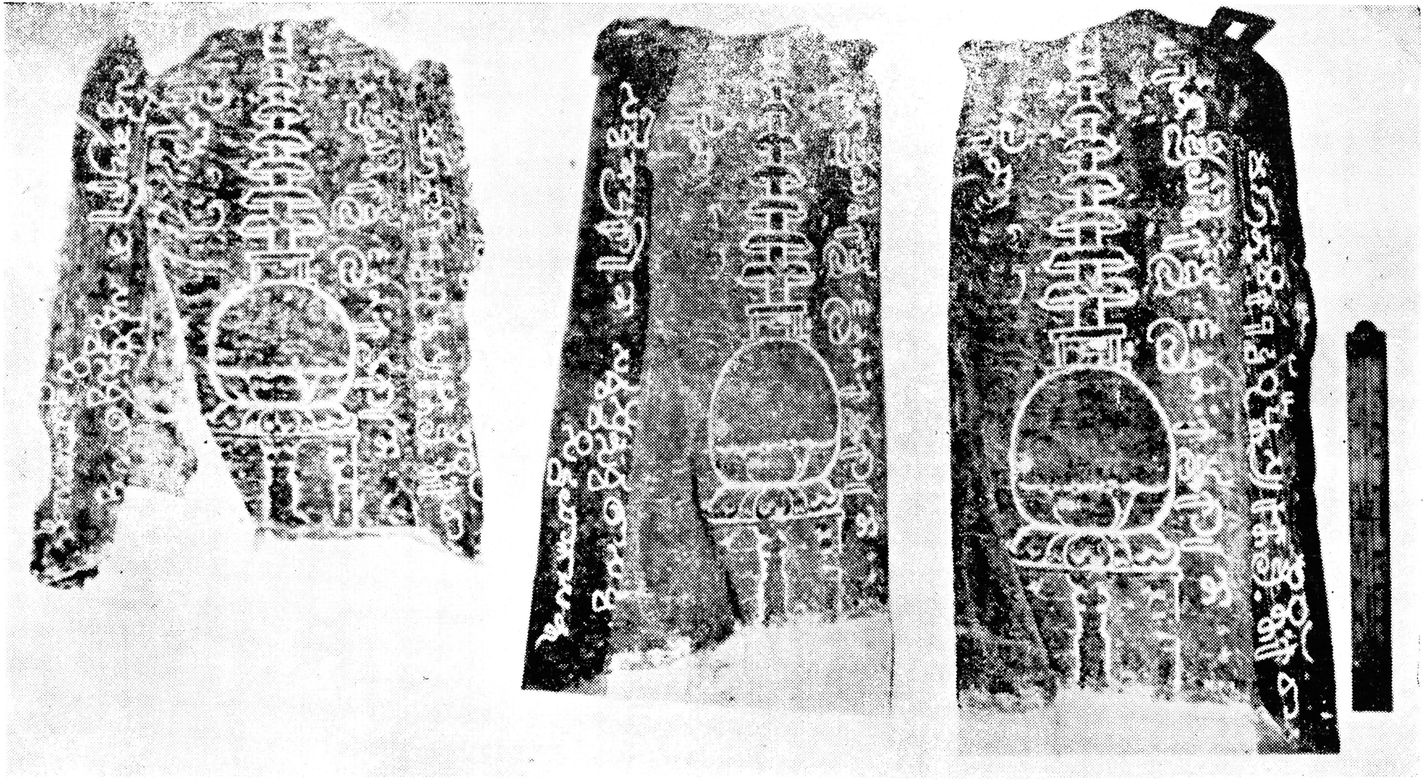
c. sarvveṇa prakārena sarvvasmin sarvvathā sa[r]vva....siddhayāt[r]ā[ḥ] santu

Chhabra has translated these lines as follows:

a. Through ignorance *karma* is accumulated. The cause of birth is *karma*. Through knowledge *karma* is not accumulated. Through absence of *karma* one is not re-born.

The above list, and the literature to which reference is made in it, enables one to draw attention to a number of points of some significance in any attempt to use the epigraphy of North-Western Malaya as historical source material.

1. The number of inscriptions is very small indeed. In part this may perhaps be explained by the deliberate destruction of Hindu and Buddhist writings by fanatical converts to Islam during that period from the 15th century A. D. onwards when the Muslim faith began to take firm root in Malayan soil. But it is hard to find complete satisfaction in this explanation; and one cannot avoid the conclusion that, while there was without doubt Islamic destruction of inscriptions, the real cause for the paucity of the Malayan epigraphical corpus is that there were very few inscriptions in the first place, which does not accord well with the belief that Malaya was once the seat of a really important Indianised state.



1. The **Mahanavika Buddhagupta** inscription from Province Wellesley. The inscription is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (Photo : Archaeological Survey of India)

b & c. of the great sea-captain Buddha gupta, a resident ·(?)of Raktamrttika....by all means, in all, in all respects....all. . .be they successful in their voyage.

Chhabra stated that the script (derived from South India) here was similar to that of the Purnavarman inscription in West Java, and could be dated to the 5th century A.D. On the other hand, in the use of the expression *siddhayātra*, Chhabra saw parallels with the Old Malay 'Srivijayan' inscriptions from Kedukan Bukit in Sumatra which date from the latter part of the 7th century A.D. The place *Raktamrttika* (Red-earth country) has been equated with the *Ch'ih-t'u* of Chinese sources, and taken to mean a port on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; but there is no real evidence for such an identification. At present we do not know who Buddha gupta was, where he came from, what he was doing in Malaya and when he reached these shores.

(See: B. Ch. Chhabra, "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule as evidenced by inscriptions", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Letters, Vol. 1, 1935, pp. 16-20; Lt. Col. J. Low, "An account of several inscriptions found in Province Wellesley, on the Peninsula of Malacca", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. 17, 1848, Pt. II, pp. 62-66, and reprinted in *Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, London 1886; P. Wheatley: *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, pp. 33,274.)

2. BUKIT MERIAM INSCRIPTION

Also discovered by Colonel Low, this inscribed slate slab from Bukit Meriam in Kedah has now been

lost. A copy was made by J. W. Laidlay which has been studied by Kern and Chhabra. The inscription (in a South Indian script) consists of two parts, the first being the so-called Buddhist creed which begins *ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ*, and the second being the same as (a) of the *Mahānāvika Buddha gupta* inscription. Laidlay's copy has not provided an adequate basis for dating on palaeographic grounds.

(See· Chhabra, op. cit., pp. 14-15; *Papers Relating to Indo-China*, op. cit., pp. 232-234.)

3. CHEROK TOKUN INSCRIPTION

Yet another Colonel Low discovery, this is an inscribed granite boulder (again in a South Indian script) at Cherok Tokun near Bukit Meriam in Province Wellesley. No satisfactory transliteration of the writings on this boulder have ever been made, and the inscription is not discussed by Chhabra. There appear to be a number of separate inscriptions here, some of which are of probable Buddhist content. Laidlay published (see reference below) the texts on the basis of clay impressions sent to him by Low; and he provided the following translations:

a. I acknowledge the enemies of the contented king Ramaunibha and the wicked are ever afflicted;

b. This is said by Manikatha, the protectors of all great Buddhas;

c. In every form of life knowledge becomes mainfest everywhere and in every way;

d. Karma, which sports with passion, is the cause of transmigration.

(c) and (d) would appear to be very similar to (a) of the *Mahanavika Buddha gupta* inscription and the second part of the Bukit Meriam inscription. If this is so, then there may be grounds for treating these three inscriptions as a closely related group. The boulder has been much worn in recent years, and a number of names in Chinese and English have been scratched on it over the inscriptions which are, in consequence, no longer legible.

(See: *Papers Relating to Indo-China*, op. cit., pp. 227-232.)

4. INSCRIBED STONE TABLET FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 1

Discovered by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales just before the Second World War among the laterite foundations of a ruined shrine on Bukit Choras, Kedah, this small object just under 3″ long is inscribed (in a South Indian script) with the *ye dharmā hetuprabhavāḥ* formula which has already been noted in connection with the Bukit Meriam inscription. Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum, who first examined this inscribed object, dated it to not later than the 2nd half of the 4th century A. D. Recently, however, the inscription has been closely studied by Dr. de Casparis of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who is reported to have come to the conclusion that it cannot be dated *earlier* than the 9th century A. D. The tablet is now preserved in the National (Raffles) Museum, Singapore.

(See: H.G.Q. Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 18, Pt. I, 1940, p. 7; F.D.K. Bosch, " Review of *Chandi*

Bukit Batu Pahat, by A. Lamb", *Bijdragen Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* Afl. 117, Deel IV, pp. 489-90.)

5. INSCRIBED CLAY TABLET FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 2 (Pl. 2)

Discovered by Dr. Wales at his site no. 2 on the Bujang River in Kedah, this is a tablet of sun-dried clay, 5⅛″ × 1⅛″ × 1⅛″, and inscribed on three faces with six lines which Mr. Allan transliterated as follows:

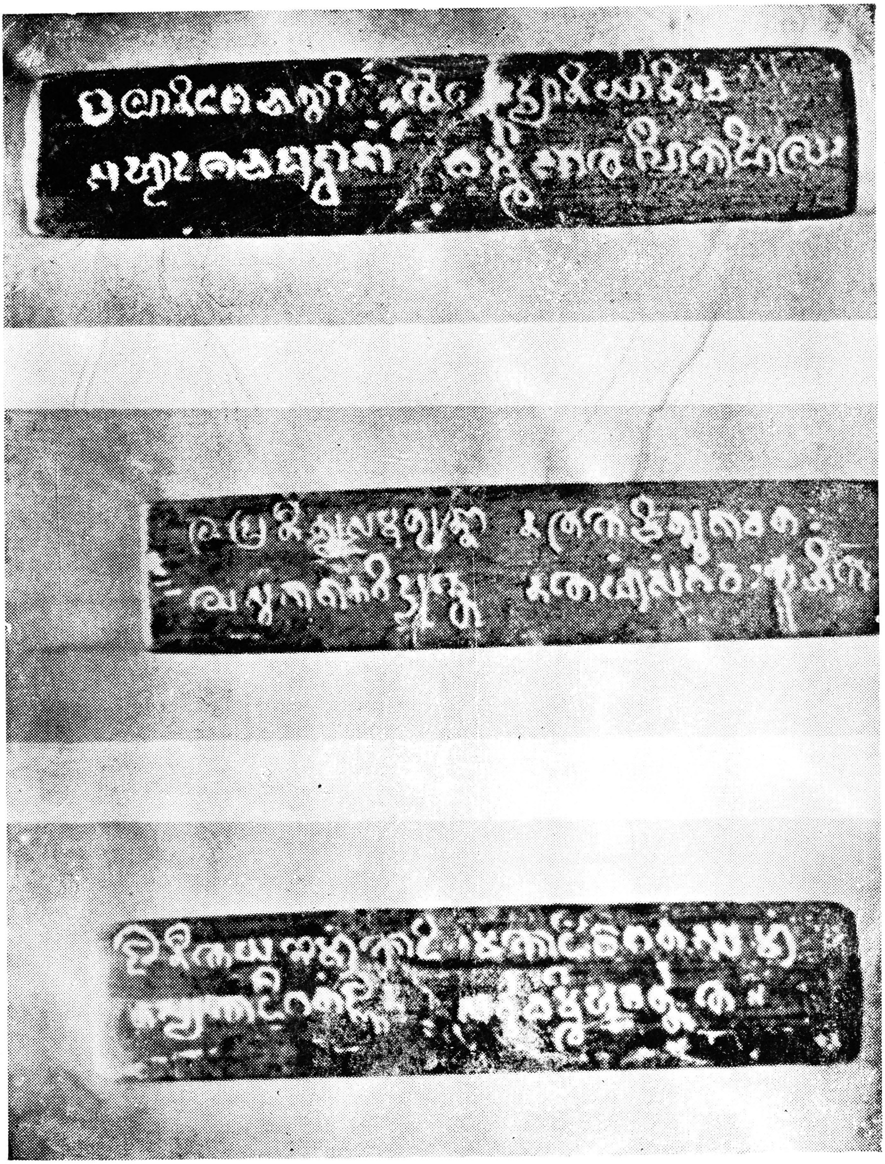
Balāni daśa catvāri vaiśaradyāni yāni ca
Aṣṭādaśa ca Buddhānāṃ dharmmā āvenikā hi ye
Ye pratityasamutpannā na te kecit svabhāvatah
Ye svabhavān na vidyante tesām sambhavah kvacit
Jānite ya imām koṭiṃ jagatas samaṃ
Tasya kotiṃ gataṁ jñānam sarvva dharmeṣu varttate.

This was translated as follows:

There are ten *balas* (powers), four *vaiśaradyas* (assurances, extraordinary skills) and eighteen *dharma āveṇikas* (independent qualities) of the Buddhas. The *dharmas* (moments of consciousness) which arise from co-operating circumstances have in no case real existence; there can nowhere be any *(dharmas)* which do not exist in a state of unreality. Who knows this summit of the universe to be at the same time no summit— his knowledge, having reached the summit, extends over all dharmas.

Dr. Chakravarti, who examined this clearly Mahayana Buddhist inscription in Pallava script, dated it to

2. The majority of the surviving inscriptions appear to be Mahayana Buddhist, and to contain very simple texts. If we exclude the doubtful case of the Kuala Selinsing seal (No. 11) and the even more doubtful case of the Cherok Tokun boulder (No. 3)-in which Laidlay was tempted to see the name of one King *Ramaunıbha*-no fact of secular import emerges from any of these inscriptions.



2. Inscribed clay tablet from Dr. Wales' Kedah site no. 2. (Photo : Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society)

the early 6th century A. D. Recently, however, Dr. de Casparis has argued that it probably dates from the middle of the 7th century A. D., its script being a slightly earlier form than that shown in the Sumatran 'Srivijayan' inscriptions. Dr. de Casparis has related the text of this inscription to that found on some gold plates from Central Java.

The tablet is now preserved in the National Museum, Singapore.

[See: Wales, loc. cit., pp. 9-10; J. G. de Casparis, ***Prasasti Indonesia II***, Bandung 1956, pp. 51, 104; A. Lamb, "Note on an inscribed clay tablet from Dr. Wales' Kedah site no. 2". ***Federation Museums Journal*** 1961, p.38; Bosch, loc. cit., pp. 489-90.)

6. ONE GOLD AND SIX INSCRIBED DISCS FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 10

Each about 1½″ in diameter these were found below the floor level of the brick and boulder structural remains of a shrine on the east bank of the Bujang River in Kedah. The script, as in all cases in this paper, unless otherwise stated, was a variety of South Indian and the language Sanskrit.

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti made the following transliterations and translations of the six silver discs:

a. Sarvv-āpāya-jaha : one who has removed all evils;
b. [A]moghadarsʹi : of unfailing vision;
c. Gandhahasti : musk elephant;
d. Vajr-ā[m]gabandha : of diamond bull;
e. Could not be read;
f. Could not be read.

Dr. Chakravarti thought these discs referred to the names of Bodhisattvas.

Mr. Allan examined the gold disc, which he thought contained the isolated syllable *om.*

Professor Bosch thought that disc (d) might read Vajrabandheçvara: The Lord of the Dimond Bondage. Disc (f) he read *Samantabhadra*, which is the name of a Bodhisattva.

Dr. Chakravarti dated these discs, on the basis of Indian parallels, to the 8th century A. D., while Professor Bosch dated them to the second half of the 9th century A. D., a conclusion which Dr. de Casparis has accepted.

(See: Wales, loc. cit., pp. 23-24; Bosch, loc. cit., pp. 489-90.)

7. INSCRIBED FRAGMENT OF SILVER FROM DR. WALES' KEDAH SITE NO. 14

This was found by Dr. Wales in an earthenware jar which had been one of the foundation deposits of a shrine on the east bank of the Bujang River in Kedah. The inscription, executed on both sides of what appears to have been part of the rim of a silver vessel, is brief, is in a South Indian script, and according to Mr. Allan, is probably in Pali; but Mr. Allan was unable to make any coherent reading. Mr. Allan thought the date might be 6th or 7th century A.D., but it should be noted that the inscription was found in direct association with a coin of the Abbasid Caliphate dated 848 A. D. Either the inscription is much older than the site in which it was found, or it dates from not before the middle of the 9th century A. D.

(See: Wales, loc. cit., p. 32.)

8. SIX GOLD DISCS FROM CHANDI BUKIT BATU PAHAT, KEDAH (Pls. 3 and 4)

These were discovered by the author of this paper in 1958 and 1959 while excavating Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat (Dr. Wales' site no. 8). Each disc was found inside a copper pot which, in its turn, was within a granite casket 7″cube. The granite caskets were located beneath the walls of the sanctuary of this stone shrine, and they marked the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass. There were originally eight such caskets, but two were plundered in antiquity. Each disc was about 1½″ in diameter, and each, like the gold disc from Wales' site no. 10, contained a single syllable. The discs, according to M. L. C. Damais, relate to the eight *lokapala*, and have parallels in Central Java in the period 8th to 10th century A.D. Of the scratched on symbols on these discs Professor Bosch, after discussion with Dr. de Casparis, writes as follows:

The queer thing about these inscriptions is that, though each of them claims to represent a letter, actually they are mere scrawls imitating letters and making the impression of being scratched into the metal by someone who had a hazy notion about old javanese script but did not know the rights of it. Meanwhile, it is not doubtful that at the base of the said imitation must have been a kind of script closely related to that of Ligor and the somewhat later Central Javanese inscriptions.

3. At present, of the inscriptions which seem capable of being dated on palaeographic grounds, only the *Mahanavika Buddha gupta* inscription (No. 1) can still be held to date from earlier than the 7th century A. D., and even here there are parallels with the Sumatran 'Srivijayan' inscription's which suggest that a 7th century date might not be out of the question.

4. None of the inscriptions listed above contains a date, and only No. 7 occurs in direct association with a dated object.

(See: A. Lamb, *Chandi Bukit Batu Pahat*, Singapore 1960; Bosch. loc. cit., pp. 487-88.)

9. TWO SMALL INSCRIBED PIECES OF STONE FROM PENGKALAN BUJANG, KEDAH

These were discovered by the author of this paper in 1961 while excavating a vast mass of debris in swampy ground near the mouth of the Bujang River. One, a small slate tablet 1″ × ¼″ × ½″, is covered with minute letters scratched on it which appear to be Tamil or imitation Tamil (according to Professor Thani Nayagam) but which cannot be read. The other is a fragment of stone with a single letter, *ka*, scratched on it in a North Indian script.

(See: A. Lamb, "Research at Pengkalan Bujang, preliminary report", *Federation Museums Journal 1961*.)

10. MAHAYANA BUDDHIST VOTIVE TABLETS FROM TWO CAVES IN PERLIS. (Pls. 5-7)

Several hundred votive tablets of sun-dried clay have recently (November 1961) been recovered from

5. With the exception of Nos. 7 and 8, none of the inscription occurs in a particularly useful association with a structure. Nos. 7 and 8, of-course, are from foundation deposits.

6. The Malayan inscriptions contain a surprising number of errors and omissions. The implication, much reinforced by the gold discs described in No. 8, is that the culture which produced these inscriptions was, to say the least, far removed from the centres of learning in metropolitan India. To see in these inscriptions evidence that North-Western Malaya played an important part in the spread of Indian influence into Southeast Asia is to draw conclusions which, to be charitable, one may well call far-fetched.

7. The inscriptions listed here, in fact, can only be described as being extremely provincial. For this reason it would seem to be very dangerous to assign dates to them on the basis of Indian practice. It seems likely that in North-Western Malaya forms of script would have survived for many centuries after they had gone out of use in metropolitan India. Until we discover a *dated* Malayan inscription as a reference point, it is unlikely

two caves near Kangar in Perlis. These caves, Gua Berhala and Gua Kurong Batang, are both in limestone formations, and in them the votive tablets are found lying on the surface. The caves contain no sculptures and no inscriptions on the walls. Most of the tablets contain impressions of *Avalokitesvara* and other Bodhisattvas, but some of them also have a line or two of writing, always in a North Indian script and, apparently, in each case containing the *ye dharma* formula. Some of the tablets from Gua Berhala, of the kind illustrated here, have text only. The tablet illustrated here was shown to Dr. Chhabra, who confirmed that it did indeed contain the *ye-dharma* formula, and who felt that, if found in India, it might date to the 11th century A. D. These votive tablets from Perlis are of the same basic type as those from South Thailand which Coedes studied and which he called his "Type II". Coedes dated these tablets to the 9th to 11th centuries A. D., and thought they were related to 'Srivijaya'.

(See: G. Coedes, "Siamese Votive Tablets", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 20, 1926; A. Lamb, "Kedah and Takuapa, some tentative historical conclusions", *Federation Museums Journal*, 1961, pp. 76-78.)

11. THE KUALA SELINSING SEAL

At Tanjong Rawa, Kuala Selinsing, Perak, I.H.N. Evans picked up in 1929 a small carnelian seal bearing in intaglio the inscription *Srivishnuvarmmasya*. The

that palaeographical research will provide anything more than the *earliest* possible dates. The provincial nature of early Indianised settlement in North-Western Malaya, moreover, as Professor Bosch has noted, can also be seen when this region is compared to any of the major centres of civilization in Southeast Asia; and, perhaps, Javanese parallels should be treated with as great caution, for example, as Indian parallels.

script is South Indian. Chhabra has argued that the seal refers to the King Vishnu of the Ligor Stele, and that therefore it dates to the late 8th century A.D. The arguments for this are not very convincing. Chhabra also points out that the inscription contains a grammatical error, the correct genitive of *varman* being *varmanah*.

(See: Chhabra, op. cit., pp. 27-28; *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, Vol. 15, containing various papers on Kuala Selinsing by I. H. N Evans; Sir R. Braddell, "The Perak 'Pallava' seal", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 12, Pt. I, 1934.)

கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப்பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார்

ந. சுப்பிரமணியன்

இலக்கியம் வாயிலாக நாம் அறியும் பண்டைத்தமிழர், மிகு பழங்காலந்தொட்டே கடவுள் வழிபாட்டை மேற்கொண்டவர் என்பது பல சான்றுகளாலும் அறியப்படுவதாம். அவர் வழிபட்ட கடவுள் 'கலிகெழு கடவுள் உறைந்த கந்தே'யாயினும் 'கடவுள் எழுத'ப் பயன்பட்ட கல்லேயாயினும், பாவை செய்ய அமைந்த சுதையேயாயினும், அவர் மறியறுத்துத் தினை பரப்பி வெறியாடி வழிபட்டனராயினும், அன்றி 'மந்திர மரபிற் றெய்வம் பேணி'னராயினும், அன்பு மீதூரக் கடவுளை வழிபட்டனராயினும், அச்சத்தால் உந்தப்பெற்று வழிபட்டனராயினும் அவர்கட்குக் கடவுள் வழிபாடு உண்டு என்பது ஒருதலை. அவர்கள் கடவுளைச் செயன்முறையில் வழிபட்டதோடு, இலக்கியத்தில் தங்கள் கடவுட்கொள்கைகளைக் குறித்தும் வைத்துள்ளார்கள்.

ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனார்,

> "கொடிநிலை கந்தழி வள்ளி யென்ற
> வடுநீங்கு சிறப்பின் முதலன மூன்றுங்
> கடவுள் வாழ்த்தொடு கண்ணிய வருமே."

என்று புறத்திணையியலிற்கூறினர். அதற்கு உரை வகுத்த நச்சினார்க்கினியர், 'கந்தழி'யை விளக்கிய போது, "கந்தழியாவது, ஒரு பற்றுக்கோடின்றி அருவாகித் தானே நிற்குந் தத்துவங் கடந்த பொருள்," என்று கூறி, திருமுருகாற்றுப் படைக்குத் தாம் வகுத்த உரையில், "கந்தழியாவது, ஒரு பற்றுமற்று அருவாய்த் தானே நிற்குந் தத்துவங் கடந்த பொருள்," என்றும் கூறினர். அஃதாவது, பாடாண்டிணையில் 'செத்துப் பிறக்கும் மக்களேயன்றிப் பிறப்பிறப்பில்லா முழுமுதற்கடவுளரும் வாழ்த்திற்குரியர்,' என்பதே அச்சூத்திரத்தின் பருப்பொருள் என்பது நச்சினார்க்கினியர் கருத்து. அன்றியும், தொல்காப்பியனார் செய்யுளியலில்,

" ஏனை யொன்றே,
தேவர்ப் பராஅய முன்னிலைக் கண்ணே."

என்றார். அதற்கு உரை வகுத்த பேராசிரியர், "ஒழிந்த ஒத்தாழிசை முன்னிலையிடமாகத் தேவரைப் பராவும் பொருண்மைத்து," என்று உரைத்தார். சிலப்பதிகாரம் கடலாடு காதையில் "மாயோன் பாணியும்" என்றவிடத்தில், "தேவர்ப் பராயது முத்தமிழுக்கும் பொது; அஃது இயற்றமிழில் வருங்கால் கொச்சகவொருபோகாய் வரும்," என்றார் அடியார்க்கு நல்லார்.

கடவுள் வாழ்த்து இலக்கணம் இவ்வாறாக, இலக்கியத்தில் **'முக்கட் செல்வர் நகர்வலம் செயற்கே'** *(புறம். 6)* என்றும்,

" தாருடைப் புரவி
அணங்குடை முருகன் கோட்டத்துக்
கலந்தொடா மகளிரின் இகழ்ந்துநின் றவ்வே".

(புறம். 299)

என்றும்,

'நீ, நல்வாயிற் போத்தந்த பொழுதி னெல்லா
கடவுட் கடிநகர் தோறு மிவனை
வலங்கொளீஇ வா'

(கலி. 84: 4—6) என்றும்,

' பத்தினிக் கோட்டம் படிப்புறம் வகுத்து
நித்தல் விழாவணி நிகழ்கென் றேவி...
வலமுறை மும்முறை வந்தனன்;

(சிலப். 30. 151, 152, 155)

என்றும் கூறுதலால், கடவுளுக்குக் கோயில் சமைத்து வழிபடுதல் அக்காலத்து உளதாய மரபு என்பது பெற்றாம்; அன்றியும், 'முக்கட் பகவன் அடிதொழா தார்க்கின்னா,' என்றும், 'எண்குணத்தான் **தாள்**' என்றும் கூறியமையால், அவர்கட்குக் கடவுள் உருவ வழிபாடும் உண்டு என்பதும் போதரும். சங்ககாலத் தமிழர்க்குக் கடவுட்கொள்கை, கோயில், படிம வழிபாடு, உருவ வழிபாடு என்பன உண்டோ என்று ஐயுறுவார்க்கு ஐயம் களைய இத்துணையும் கூற வேண்டுவதாயிற்று.

இனி, பிற்காலத் தமிழ் இலக்கியங்களை நோக்குவார்க்கு அவற்றில் ஒன்றேனும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச்செய்யுள் அல்லது செய்யுள்கள் இன்றித் தொடங்குவது இல்லை என்பது தெளிவாம். தேவாரச் செய்யுள்களுள் ஒவ்வொன்றும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாதலின், அவற்றின் தொகையான திருமுறைகளுக்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து வேண்டுவதின்று என்று நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பிகள் கருதினர் போலும்! திருத்தக்கதேவர், நந்திக்கலம்பக ஆசிரியர் தொட்டு மீனாட்சிசுந்தரம் பிள்ளை ஈறாகத் தமிழ்ப்புலவர்கள் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தின்றித் தங்கள் நூல்களைத் தொடங்கவில்லை. ஆனால், 'எடுத்துக்கொண்ட இலக்கியம் இனிது முடிதற்பொருட்டுக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக் கூறவேண்டுவது இன்றியமையாதது,' என்று சங்ககாலத்தார் கருதினரோ என்பது ஆராய்ச்சிக்குரியது. பதினெண்கீழ்க் கணக்கில் பழமொழி ஆசிரியர், நாலடியாரைத் தொகுத்தவர், அறநெறிச்சாரம், ஏலாதி, திரிகடுகம், நான்மணிக்கடிகை என்பவற்றின் ஆசிரியர்கள் சமணர்களாதலின், தாங்கள் வழிபடு கடவுளரை வாழ்த்தி அவ்வந்நூன்முகத்தே அமைத்தார்கள் என்க. திருக்குறளுக்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து, 'கொடிநிலை கந்தழி' என்ற தொடக்கத்தினையுடைய தொல்காப்பியப் புறத்திணையியற்சூத்திரத்தைப் பின்பற்றி அமைந்ததாக மு. இராகவ ஐயங்காரவர்கள் கருதுவார். அன்றியும், அந் நூற் கடவுள்வாழ்த்து பாயிரத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாகவே அமைந்துள்ளது.

எட்டுத்தொகை, பத்துப்பாட்டு ஆகிய சங்க நூல்கள் இவற்றையும் பதினெண்கீழ்க்கணக்கு நூல்களையும் தவிரச் சங்க நூல்களில் முழுநூலாக இதுவரை நின்று நிலவுவது தொல்காப்பியம் ஒன்றே. அதற்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து இருப்பதாகப் புலப்படவில்லை. கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பெற்றும் நன்னூல் முற்றிலும் நின்று நிலவவில்லை என்றும், அவ்வாழ்த்துப் பெறாதிருந்தும் தொல்காப்பியம் முற்றிலும் நின்று நிலவுகின்றது என்றும் எதிர்மறை, உடன்பாடு ஆகிய இரு முகத்தானும் கூறுதல் பிற்காலத்தாரது சமற்காரமே என்க. மணிமேகலை கடவுள் வாழ்த்தோடு தொடங்குவதில்லை; "திங்களைப் போற்றுதும் ...." என்று சிலப்பதிகாரம் தொடங்கினும், அஃதும் பிற்காலத்தில்

'மதிவாழி ரவிவாழி மழை வாழியே'' என்று தக்கயாகப்பரணி, தொடங்குவதுபோல ஒரு வகைக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தே என்று கொண்டாலும், மங்கல வாழ்த்துப் பாடலுக்கு முன்பு உரை பெறு கட்டுரையுண்மையால் அது கடவுள் வாழ்த்து ஆகாமையுணர்க.

ஈதிவ்வாருக, தொகை நூல்களான பத்துப்பாட்டு, எட்டுத்தொகைகளுள் பத்துப்பாட்டினைத் தொகுத்தோர், திருமுருகாற்றுப்படையையே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாக அத்தொகைக்கு அமைத்தார் என்று கொள்ளலாம் எட்டுத்தொகைகளுள் கலித்தொகைக்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து, அத்தொகையுள் நெய்தற்கலியை இயற்றியதோடு அத்தொகையையும் முடித்தவராகிய நல்லந்துவனுரால் இயற்றப்பெற்று அஃது இறைவன் வாழ்த்தாக அமைகின்றது. பரிபாடலின் முதற்பகுதியும், இறுதிப் பகுதியும் எந்தப் பிரதியிலும் கிடையாமையாலும், 'கட்டுரை வகையான்' என்னும் தொல்காப்பியச் செய்யுளியற்சூத்திர உரையில் இளம்பூரண அடிகளால் காட்டப்பெற்ற மேற்கோள்களுள் ஒன்ருன "ஆயிரம் விரித்த அணங்குடை யிருந்தலை'' என்று தொடங்கும் திருமால் வாழ்த்தினையே பரிபாடற்குக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாகக் கருதிப் பதிப்பித்தனர். அங்ஙனம் இருத்தலும் கூடுமாயினும், வேறு கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள் ஒன்று இருந்து, அது பரிபாடல் முதற்பகுதியோடு மறைந்து போயிருத்தல் கூடும் என்றும் கருத இடமுண்டு. பரிபாடல் நூலகத்தே திருமால், முருகன் ஆகியோர்க்கும் வாழ்த்துப்பாடல்கள் உள என்பதையும், 'இப்பதினன்கும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து' என்று ஐயரவர்கள் கூறுமாற்றையும் நோக்குக. பதிற்றுப்பத்தின் முதற்பத்துக் கிடையாமையால், அப்பத்தோடு அதற்கு முன்பு சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருந்த கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுளும் மறைந்து போயிற்றுப்போலும்! நூல் நின்று நிலவுவதற்காகக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடிச் சேர்த்தனர் என்று அறிஞர் கூருநிற்ப, நூல் நின்று நிலவுகையில், அதன் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள் மட்டும் மறைந்து போகும் விந்தையும் உண்டு போலும்!

எட்டுத்தொகைகளுள் மேற்கூறியவை நீங்கலாக எஞ்சிய நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை, ஐங்குறுநூறு, அக

நானூறு, புறநானூறு என்னும் தொகைகட்கு முன்பு கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடல்கள் சேர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவற்றில் நற்றிணைக்குத் திருமால் வாழ்த்தும், குறுந்தொகைக்கு முருகன் வாழ்த்தும், ஐங்குறுநூறு, அகம், புறம் என்ப வற்றிற்குச் சிவபெருமான் வாழ்த்தும் அமைந் துள்ளன. இவை பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் என்னும் புலவரால் இயற்றப் பெற்றவை. இதை நோக்குங்கால் பதிற்றுப்பத்து, பரிபாடல் ஆகியவற்றில் இப்புலவர் இயற் றிய பாடல்கள் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாகச் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருந்து இப்பொழுது காணப்பெறுவோ என்னும் ஐயுறவு பிறக்கின் றது. இங்ஙனம் அமைந்த கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக்களிலேனும், அன்றிச் சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் குறிக்கப்பெற்றுள்ள கடவுளரு ளேனும் யானை முகக்கடவுளான கணபதியைக் காண்ப தில்லை. ஆனால், அப்பர், சம்பந்தர் ஆகியோர் தேவாரப் பதிகங்களில் ஆறு இடங்களில் இக்கடவுள் பெயர் காணப் பெறுகின்றது. ஆதலால், இக்கடவுள் வழிபாடு சங்க காலத்தில் அறியப்படாதது என்பதும், கி. பி. ஏழாம் நூற் றாண்டிற்குப் பிறகு அறியப்பட்டது என்பதும் புலனாம். ஆதலால், சங்கத்தார் அறிந்த கடவுளர், ஆலமர் செல்வ னான இறைவன், முருகன், திருமால், வாலியோன், இந்தி ரன் முதலியோரும், கலைமகள், திங்கள் ஆகியோரும், சதுக் கப்பூதம் முதலியனவும் என்க. பௌத்தரான சாத்தனாரும், சிவபெருமானை 'நுதல்விழி நாட்டத் திறையோன்' என்ற தாலும், தமிழர்தம் தனிப்பெருங்கடவுளான முருகனும் 'பைங் கட்பார்ப்பா, னுமையொடுபுணர்ந்த காம வதுவையு, ளமை யாப் புணர்ச்சி யமைய'த் தோன்றியவன் என்று கடுவனிள வெயினனார் பரிபாடலிற் கூறினமையாலும், ஐந்து தொகை நூல்களுள் திரிபுரமெரித்த இறையவனுக்கு மூன்றும், முருகனுக்கு ஒன்றும், திருமாலுக்கு ஒன்றும் வாழ்த்தாக அமைந்தமையும் முறைமையே என்க.

இக்கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்கள் ஐந்தினையும் பாடிய வர் பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் என்பார். சங்ககாலத் தில் இராமாயண பாரதக் கதைகள் தமிழகத்தில் பெருவழக் கினவாயிருந்தன என்பது சங்க இலக்கியம் கற்பார் அறிந்ததே. அக்காலத்தே இராமாயணம் மொழிபெயர்க்கப்

படவில்லையாயினும், பாரதம் இப்பெருந்தேவனாரால் உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுளாகத் தமிழில் ஆக்கப் பெற்றது. தொல்காப்பியச் செய்யுளியற்சூத்திரம் 173 உரையில் பேராசிரியர், எடுத்துக்காட்டாகப் பாரதத்தைக் கூறியமையே இதற்குச் சான்று. அச்சங்ககாலத்துப் பாரத நூலில் சில பாடல்கள் நீங்கலாகப் பிற நமக்கு இன்னும் கிடைக்கவில்லை. தொல்காப்பியம் புறத்திணையியல் உரையில் நச்சினார்க்கினியராலும், வீரசோழிய உரையாலும், யாப்பருங்கல விருத்தியுரையாலும்,புறத்திரட்டாலும் கிடைத்த சில பாடல்களே இவை. இவற்றைத் தொகுப்பின் ஐம்பது பாடல்களுக்கு மிகா. இப்பாடலகளில் பல வெண்பாக்களும் சில ஆசிரியப்பாக்களும் ஆம். அந்நூலின் இடையிட்ட உரைப்பகுதிகள் கிடைக்கப்பெறவில்லை. தகடூர் யாத்திரை போன்ற வேறு சில நூல்களும் இங்ஙனமே பெரும்பகுதி இறந்தொழிந்தமை காண்க.

இஃதிவ்வாறாக, 'பாரதவெண்பா' என்னும் நூலையியற்றிய பெருந்தேவனார் ஒருவர் உளர். அவர் இயற்றிய நூலும் பாரதம். அப்பாரதச் செய்யுள்களிற்பல வெண்பாக்களே; அவையும் உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுளே. அவர் பெயரும் பெருந்தேவனார் என்பதே. இரு நூல்களும் முற்றிலும் கிடைக்கவில்லை. இவ்வொற்றுமைகளால், பெருந்தேவனார் இருவரும் ஒருவரே என்று சிலர் மயங்கிக் கூறினர். அ. கோபாலய்யரவர்கள் பதிப்பித்த 'பெருந்தேவனார் பாரத வெண்பா' என்னும் நூலின் முகவுரையில் டாக்டர் எஸ். கிருஷ்ணசுவாமி ஐயங்காரவர்கள் இது மயக்கம் ஆமாற்றை நன்கு விளக்குகிறார். நச்சினார்க்கினியர் முதலிய உரையாசிரியர்களால் மேற்கோளாகக் காட்டப்பெற்ற பாரதச் செய்யுள்களுள் ஒன்றேனும் பாரதவெண்பா என்னும் நூலிற் காணப்பெறவில்லை. இரு நூல்களின் செய்யுள் நடைகளும் வேறுபடுவதோடு, பாரதவெண்பாவின் இடையிடையே வரும் உரைப்பகுதிகளில் எண்ணிறந்த வடசொற்களும் பயின்று வருகின்றன. இது சங்ககால இலக்கிய மரபுக்குப் பெரிதும் மாறுபடுகின்றது. அன்றியும், பாரத வெண்பாவின் முன் கணபதி வணக்கச் செய்யுள் ஒன்று காண்கின்றது. எனவே, கணபதியையே அறியாத சங்கத்தார் காலத்ததாக அந்நூலைக்

கருத இயலாது. பாரத வெண்பாவின் தொடக்கத்தில் பரி பாலகர் வாழ்த்தில் 'தெள்ளாறு' எறிந்த ஒரு மன்னனைப் பற்றிய குறிப்பு ஒன்று உளது. இது தெள்ளாறு எறிந்த மூன்றும் நந்திவர்மன் என்னும் பல்லவ மன்னனையே குறிக் கும் என்பதில் ஐயமில்லை. அஃதாயின், பாரத வெண்பாப் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனர் கி. பி. ஒன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டின் இடைக்காலத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர் எனலாம். இஃதிவ்வாறாக, கி. பி. எட்டாம் நூற்றாண்டைச் சேர்ந்த வேள்விக் குடிச் சாசனத்தில் சங்கம் வளர்த்த பாண்டியர் காலத்தில் தமிழில் 'பாரதம்' இயற்றப் பெற்றமை குறிக்கப்படுகின்றது. இக்குறிப்பு, பாரதவெண்பாவைக் குறியாது; சங்ககாலப் பாரதத்தையே குறிக்கும் எனலே பொருந்தும்.

ஆதலால், சங்ககாலத்தே, அதாவது கி. பி. 4-ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிற்கு முன்பு உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யு ளாக வெண்பாவும் ஆசிரியப்பாவும் விரவிவந்த பாரதநூல் ஒன்று பெருந்தேவனர் என்பவரால் இயற்றப்பட்டு. அது 'தகடூர் யாத்திரை' முதலிய பிற சில நூல்களைப்போலப் பல்லவர் காலத்தே இறந்துபட்டது; ஆதலால், அப் பெரியார் பெயரை இட்டுக்கொண்ட வேருெருவர் பாரதக் கதையை மறுபடியும் உரையிடையிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யு ளாகவே பாடி முடித்தார்; நாளடைவில் அதுவும் பெரும் பான்மை மறைந்து போய்ச் சிறுபான்மை எஞ்சவே, பிற் காலச் சோழர் காலத்தே வில்லிபுத்தூரார் தம் பாரதத்தை இயற்றுவாராயினர். இதுவே தமிழில் பாரதம் மொழி பெயர்த்து அமைக்கப்பெற்ற வரலாறு என்க.

இனி, நற்றிணை, குறுந்தொகை, ஐங்குறுநூறு அகநா னூறு புறநானூறு, என்னும் சங்கத் தொகைநூல்களுக்கு முன் காணப்பெறும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்கள் 'பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனர்' என்பவரால் இயற்றப்பெற்றவை. இவற்றில் நற்றிணைக்குத் திருமால் வாழ்த்தும், குறுந் தொகைக்கு முருகன் வாழ்த்தும், ஐங்குறுநூறு, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு ஆசியவற்றிற்கு இறைவன் வாழ்த்தும் அமைந் துள்ளன. இவ்வாழ்த்துக்களை ஒருவரே பாடியுள்ளமை யால், அவரது சமயப் பொது நோக்குப் புலப்படுகிறது. இப்பொது நோக்குச் சங்ககாலக் கடவுட்கொள்கையோடு

ஒத்திருத்தலும் காணப் பெறும். திருவள்ளுவ மாலையிற் காணும் 'எப்பொழுதும் யாரும்' என்று தொடங்கும் வெண் பாவினை இயற்றியவர் இவரே என்று சிலர் கருதுவராயினும், திருவள்ளுவமாலை என்னும் நூல் முழுவதுமே பிற்காலத்தே ஒருவரால் எழுதப்பட்டது என்னுங்கருத்தே வலியுடைத்தாத லால், அவ்வெண்பாவைப் பாடியவர் இவரல்லர் என்க.

இனி, சங்ககாலத்துள்ளும் இவர் எக்காலத்தினர் என் பதைத் துணிதல் வேண்டும்.

தொகை நூல்கள் தொருக்கப்பட்ட காலத்திற்கு இவர் பிற்பட்டவராயிருந்து அத்தொகைகளுக்கு இவரே கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்களைப் பாடிச் சேர்த்திருக்கக் கூடும் என் பது கருத்தாயின், கலித்தொகையைத் தொகுத்தவர் தாமே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தை இயற்றி அத்தொகைக்கு முன் அமைத் ததை நோக்கின், தொகுப்பு ஆசிரியரே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தைத் தொகைகளுக்கு முன்பு அமைத்துவிடுவது மரபு என்பது பெறப்படும். அன்றியும், நீண்ட ஆசிரியப்பாக்களால் (பெரும் பாலும்) அமைந்த பத்துப்பாட்டின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தாக அத் தகைய ஆசிரியப்பாவான திருமுருகாற்றுப்படையாகவும், கலித்தொகையின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக் கலிப்பாவாகவும், பரி பாடலின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பரிபாடலாகவும், நாலடியார், பழமொழியாகிய நூல்களின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து வெண்பாவாக வும், திருக்குறளின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக் குறட்பாவாகவும் அமைந்துள்ளமையும் நோக்குக. ஆதலின், இவ்வைந்து தொகை நூல்களின் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்களும் சில அடிகளானியின்ற ஆசிரியப்பாவாக அமைதலே பொருத்த முடைத்து. பெருந்தேவனரது கடவுள் வாழ்த்துக்கள் பெற்ற ஐந்து தொகைநூல்களுள் குறுந்தொகை முடித்தார் பூரிக்கோ என்பது அறியப்படுகின்றது; ஆனல், அத்தொகுத்தா ரைப்பற்றி நாம் பிருண்டு கேள்வியுறுவதில்லை; அன்றியும், தொகுப்பித்தார் யார் என்பதும் தெரியவில்லை; ஆதலால், தொகுப்பித்தார் ஒருவர் இன்றித் தாமே பூரிக்கோ குறுந் தொகையைத் தொகுத்தார் என்று கொள்ளுதல் பொருந்தும். அற்றேல், குறுந்தொகை உரையாசிரியரான உ. வே. சுவாமிநாத ஐயரவர்கள். "குறுந்தொகையிலுள்ள சொற் றெடர்காரணமாகப் பெயர் பெற்ற புலவர்கள் அப்பெயரா

லேயே பிறநூல்களில் வழங்கப்பெறுவது போல அந்நூல் களிலுள்ள செய்யுட்பகுதி காரணமாகப் பெயர் பெற்றாரது பெயர் ஒன்றேனும் குறுந்தொகையில் வரவில்லை. இதனால், முதலிற் குறுந்தொகை தொகுக்கப்பட்டது என்பது தெளி வாகும்,'' என்பர். ஆனால், சற்று ஊன்றிப்பார்க்குங்கால் ஐயரவர்கள் முடிபு பொருத்தமுடைத்தாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. ஏனெனில், காக்கைபாடினியார் நச்செள்ளையாருக்குச் சிறப் புப் பெயர் குறுந்தொகைச் செய்யுளால் வந்தது; ஆதலால், அப்புலவர் குறுந்தொகைச் செய்யுளை முதற்கண் இயற்றிப் பதிற்றுப்பத்து, புறநானூறு முதலிய தொகை நூல்களுள் காணப்பெறும் செய்யுள்களைப் பிறகு இயற்றினர் என்பது பெறப்படுமேயன்றிக் குறுந்தொகை பிறதொகை நூல் களுக்கு முன்பே தொகுக்கப்பட்டது என்பது உறுதியாகாது. ஆதலால், தொகை நூல்களுக்குள் குறிப்பிட்ட எத்தொகை யின் கால வரலாற்றையும் வரையறுத்தல் இயலாது.

அஃதேயாயினும், அகநானூற்றினைத் தொகுப்பித்த உக்கிரப் பெருவழுதியார் மூன்றாஞ்சங்கத்தின் இறுதியில் அரசாண்ட பாண்டிய மன்னர் என்பது பெரும்பாலும் ஏற் றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது. அந்நூலுக்கும் பெருந்தேவனாரது கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள் உருத்திரசர்மரால் முன் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருத்தலின், அவர் காலத்திற்கும் முற்பட்டவரா கப் பெருந்தேவனாரைக் கருதலாம். அன்றியும், ஐங்குறு நூறு தொகுப்பித்த யானைக்கட்சேய் மாந்தரஞ்சேரலிரும் பொறையை வென்ற தலையாலங்கானத்துச் செரு வென்ற நெடுஞ்செழியன் உக்கிரப் பெருவழுதிக்கு முற்பட்டவனாதலின் பெருந்தேவனார் தலையாலங்கானத்து நெடுஞ்செழியற்கும் முற் பட்டவராதல் வேண்டும்! அதாவது, கி. பி. இரண்டாம் நூற் றாண்டினர் என்று பெருந்தேவனாரைக் கொள்ளுதலிற் குற்ற மிராது.

இனி, இத்தொகை நூல்களுள் ஐந்நூறு பாடல்கள் கொண்ட ஐங்குறுநூறு நீங்கலாக, நற்றிணை, குறுந் தொகை, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு என்பன நானூறு பாடல்கள் கொண்டவை. நற்றிணை நானூறு, குறுந் தொகை நானூறு, அகநானூறு, புறநானூறு என்னும் பெயர்களே இதனைவலியுறுத்துவனவாம். இந்நிலையில், இத்

தொகை நூல்களுள் புறநானூற்றில் கடவுள்வாழ்த்துஉட்பட நானூறு பாடல்களும், அகநானூற்றிலும் நற்றிணையிலும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக நானூறு பாடல்களும் குறுந் தொகையில் மட்டும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக நானூற் றொரு பாடல்களும் காண்கின்றன. இவ்வேறுபாட்டிற்குக் காரணம் ஆராய்தற்பாலது ஏனெனில், அப்பொழுதுதான் இவ்வாராய்ச்சியின் முடிவாகவே கடவுள் வாழ்த்தினைச் சேர்த்து இந்நூல்களைத் தொகுத்து நானூறு என்று கணக் கிட்டனரா, அன்றி நானூறு பாடல்களைத் தொகுத்த பிறகு கடவுள் வாழ்த்தைச் சேர்த்தனரா என்பது உறுதியாக்கப் பெறும். நானூறு பாடல்களைச் சேர்ததுத் தொகை முடித்த பிறகு, அத்தொகுத்தோர் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து ஒன்றையும் முதற்கண் இட்டனர் எனலே தகும். ஏனெனில், கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடாண்டிணையைச் சேர்ந்தது; அகத்திற்குப் புறம்பானது. இது அகநானூறு, குறுந்தொகை, நற்றிணை என்னும் நூல்களின் பொருள் தன்மைக்கு வேறானது. அன்றியும், ஐங்குறுநூற்றில் ஐந்நூறு செய்யுள்களுக்கு மேலாகக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருத்தல் காண்க. இங்ஙனம் நோக்குங்கால் அகநானூறு, நற்றிணை, ஐங்குறு நூறு என்பவை முறைப்படி தொகுக்கப்பட்டிருத்தல் புலனும். ஆனல், புறநானூற்றில் ஒரு செய்யுள் குறைகின்றது; அதாவது, கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக 399 செய் யுள்களே உள்ளன. குறுந்தொகையில் ஒரு செய்யுள் மிகு கின்றது: அதாவது, கடவுள வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக 401 செய் யுள்கள் உள்ளன. புறநானூற்றில் மட்டும் கடவுள் வாழத் தையும் சேர்த்தே நானூறு என்று கணக்கிட்டிருக்கக்கூடும்; ஏனெனில், கடவுள் வாழ்ததும் புறப்பொருளைச் சேர்ந்த பாடாண்டிணைப் பகுதியாதலின். புறநானூறு தொகுக்கப் பட்ட காலம் நாம் அறியோம். புறநானூறு தொகுக்கப் பட்டபின், அகநானூறு, நற்றிணை ஆகிய தொகைகளில் நானூறு அகச்செய்யுள்களை மட்டும் சேர்த்து, அதன் பிறகு கடவுள் வாழ்தைதைப் புறம்பே சேர்த்தமையால், அத்தொகை களில் 401 செய்யுள்கள் உண்மை பொருந்தும். ஆனல், குறுந்தொகையில் மட்டும் 402 செய்யுள்கள் காணப்படுகின் றன. அதிலும் தொகையில் 400ம் புறம்பே கடவுள் வாழ்த்

துச் செய்யுள் ஒன்றும், ஆக 401 பாடல்களே இருத்தல் வேண்டும். குறுந்தொகையில் மிகையாகக் கலந்துவிட்ட பாடல் எது என்பதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். குறுந்தொகைப் பிரதிகளின் இறுதியில், "இத்தொகை முடித்தான் பூரிக்கோ; இத்தொகை பாடிய கவிகள் 205; இத்தொகை 4 அடிச் சிற்றெல்லையாகவும், 8 அடிப் பேரெல்லையாகவும் தொகுக்கப் பட்டது," என்னும் விளக்கம் காணப்படுகின்றது. ஆயினும், குறுந்தொகை 307, 391-ஆம் செய்யுள்கள் ஒன்பது அடியை யுடையனவாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவற்றுள் 391-ஆம் செய்யுள் சில பிரதியில் எட்டு அடியுடையதாகச் சில பாட பேதங்களுடன் காணப்படுகின்றது. ஆயினும், 307-ஆம் செய்யுள் ஒன்பது அடியுடையதாகவே எல்லாப்பிரதிகளிலும் காணப்படுகின்றது. ஆதலால், இச்செய்யுளைக் குறுந் தொகையைச் சேராதது என்று நீக்கிவிடின், இத்தொகையும் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து நீங்கலாக 400 பாடல்களே கொண்ட தாக அமையும்.

மேற்கூறியவற்றினின்றும், யாமறிவன : 1. சங்க காலத்துப் புலவரான பெருந்தேவனார் என்பவர் உரையிடை யிட்ட பாட்டுடைச் செய்யுளாகப் பாரதத்தை யாத்தனர். 2. அதிற்கண்ட சில கடவுள் வாழ்த்துச் செய்யுள்களைப் பிற்காலத்துச் சங்கச் செய்யுள் தொகை முடித்தார் சிலர் தமது தொகை நூல்களுக்கு முன் கடவுள் வாழ்த்து என்று போற்றிக்கொண்டனர். 3. இவர் சங்ககாலப் புலவராதலால், அகநானூற்றிலும் நற்றிணையிலும் பெருந்தேவனார் என்பவர் இயற்றியனவாகக் காணப்படும் சில பாடல்கள் இப்பாரதம் பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் இயற்றியவையே. 4. இப்புலவர் வேறு, பாரத வெண்பாப்பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் வேறு. 5. திருவள்ளுவமாலைச் செய்யுள் இவரியற்றிய தன்று. 6. இவரியற்றிய பாரதச் செய்யுள்கள் பிறசெய்யுள்கள் ஆகியவற்றிலும் இவரது கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடல்களே புகழ் மிக்கவையாதலின், இவரைக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப்பாடிய பெருந்தேவனார் எனல் ஒருவாறு பொருந்தும்.

The Bibliography of Tamil Studies

The replies to the first circular indicate that considerable support and scholarly assistance is assured for this project.

Dr. J. Filliozat of the College de France has already sent complete bibliographical details and annotations for 112 titles in French. Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Prague has sent a list of 15 titles which are to be found in the Czech and Slovak languages Rev. Fr. Jacquemart of Bangalore, has sent a list of 24 titles on South Indian religious history etc , which he will annotate. Dr. K. K. Pillai has sent a list of over 200 books and Prof. M. Varadharajan a list of over a hundred books. Assurances of collaboration have been received from the following with whom we are now in correspondence:—

The Rt. Rev. Sabapathy Kulandran, Bishop in Jaffna, Araly, Vaddukoddai, Ceylon; Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Professor of Tamil, Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar, South India; Prof. T. Nadarajah, Professor of Law, University of Ceylon; Prof. V. I. Subramaniam, Head of the Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, Trivandrum; Mr. M.S.H. Thompson, Twickenham, England; Rev. Fr. V M. Gnanapragasam, Research Scholar in Tamil, Loyola College, Madras; Rev. J. C. Hindley, Serampore College, Serampore, Dist., Hooghly, West Bengal; Rev. S. J. Samartha, Librarian, The United Theological College, Bangalore-6; Dr. Arno Lehmann, Professor der Theol , Fakultät, Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittonberg, East Germany; Rev. Fr. C. Joachim Pillai Omi, Ecole Biblique, Jerusalem POB, 53, Jordan;

Dr. R. E. Asher, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Chicago, 5856 University Avenue, Chicago, 37, Illinois, U.S A; Mr. P.R. Sittampalam, RAS. (Ceylon) Colombo; Mr. G. A Gnanamuttu, 4 Chelsea Gardens, Colombo.

From observations made by correspondents, I should like to make the following suggestions:—

1. Those collaborating with us may first send *a list* of the books which they will undertake to annotate. The editorial section here will, upon receipt of the list of books, ensure there is no duplication of work by sending the correspondents a list of the works for which the Editors require full bibliographical details and annotations. The initial lists should reach the Chief-Editor, Research Projects, as early as possible.

   If the preliminary lists reach us in time, and provided there is no delay on the part of correspondents in sending annotated lists, the Mss. should be ready for the press by the end of 1962.

2. Books on Tamil Studies in other Indian languages, e g. in Malayalam, Telugu, Hindi, Bengali etc , are to be included in the bibliography. We shall be grateful to scholars who will volunteer to undertake or procure for us annotations of books in particular Indian languages.

3. Through an oversight the first circular did not explicitly mention *translations* of Tamil works, classical and non-classical, found in other languages. Such translations are to be included in the bibliography.

4. The suggestion has been made that the bibliography of books should be followed by a

bibliography of articles in periodicals. A bibliography of articles in periodicals is a very necessary piece of documentation, and we hope with the collaboration of other Universities, we can embark on such a project in 1963. Our collaborators may bear this future project in mind when collecting material for the present project.

I wish to thank very warmly all these who have responded to our invitation and those others who will be replying shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM
Editor.
Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Appendix

I

HISTORY AND TRAVEL

1. LIEUT. COLONEL MARK WILKES: *Historical Sketches of the South of India,* in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore; from the origin of the Hindoo Government of that state to the extinction of the Mohammedan dynasty in 1799. Vol. I. London, 1810.

Chap. V. System of landed property in Tamil Nad.

Chap. VI. Mahratta and Muslim invasion in Tamil Nad.

Chap. VII-XII Anglo-French conflict- S. A.

2. LIEUT. COLONEL MARK WILKES: *Historical Sketches of the South of India*; Vol. II, London, 1817. Sections on Penetration of Hyder Ali into Tamil Nad; Conflict with the English. Continuation of War under Tippu—S. A.

3. ABRAHAM ROGERIUS: *De Open-deure tot het Verborgen Heydendom, Uitgegeven door W. Caland.*

Werken uitgegenen door de Linschoten-Vereeniging. The Hague 1915, pp. XLIV-222. (Dutch; T*he Open door to Hidden Heathendom.)* A description of the religious beliefs and practices of the people of the Coromandel Coast by a Dutch Protestant Padre who was an evangelist in the Dutch factory of Paleacat

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These sample annotations are published to indicate the method which is being followed in the compilation of the *Bibliography* of Tamil Studies by the Dept. of Indian Studies, University of Malaya.

from 1632 to 1642. The work was first published in Leyden in 1651—S. A.

4. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR: *Origin and Spread of the Tamils*, The Adyar Library, Madras, 1947, pp. VI + 110.

Considers briefly existing theories regarding the Origin of the Dravidians. Examines available evidence of early Dravidian Civilization and puts forward the view of South India as their original home from where they subsequently spread Westwards and Eastwards.—S. A.

5. W. H. MORELAND (Ed): *Relations of Golconda in the early seventeenth century*, pp. XLVII + 101 + maps, London, Hakluyt Society, 1931.

A collection of accounts by European traders of the lands along the Coromandel coast up to Madras. Description of commerce together with side-lights on social conditions and religious practices. Most useful appendix by the Editor of currency, weights and measure in usage at that time in the area.—S. A.

6. S ARUNACHALAM: *The History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast*, Annamalai University Historical Series No. 8, Annamalainagar, 1952, pp. ZLI + 206.

Attempts to trace continuous history of the pearl fishery in the southern coast from the earliest times to the 19th century. Interesting information on the technique of pearl fishing and trade in pearls, based on foreign sources of different times.—S. A.

7. ABBE CARRE: *The Travels of the Abbè Carre in India and the Near East, 1672 to 1674*. Translated by Lady Fawcett and Edited by Sir Charles Fawcett with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn, Vol. II, pp XXIV + 317 + 675 + maps and illustrations, London, The Hakluyt Society, 1947.

Record of the Journey of Abbe Carre from Bijapur to the port of St. Thome then in French hands and under siege by the King of Golconda. Account of the French fleet under Admiral de la Haye, its activities in Trincomalee and on the Coromandel Coast. Account of the capture of St. Thome and War with the King of Golconda. Information relating to the English, Dutch on Coromandel Coast, and Commercial Matters. Map of Madras and its environments, c 1673-4.—S.A.

8. SATHYANATHA AIYAR: *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, Edited with introduction and Notes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar; Madras University Historical Series II, O U P., 1924, pp. xii+403.

Well documented study from original sources of the history of Nayaks of Madura from the 15th century to the beginning of the 18th century. Rule of each Nayak dealt with in detail in a separate chapter with a concluding chapter on economic and social consideration of the entire period Appendices contain extracts of some contemporary sources—S A.

9. S P. SEN: *The French in India, first establishment and struggle*, University of Calcutta, 1947, pp. xii+360

Deals with the attempt of the French to establish themselves in Trincomalee in 1672 and their capture of San Thome; detailed account of War on the Coromandel Coast over possession of San Thome 1672-1674, Foundation of French settlement of Pondicherry.-S.A.

10. HENRY DAVIDSON LOVE: *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800. Indian Records Series*, 3 Volumes, London, 1913. Details and connected account of the foundation and growth of the English factory and city of Madras, narrated with copious extracts from original

documents. Many illustrations and maps, giving useful information of Madras in its various stages of development.-S. A.

11. FERNAO DE QUEYROZ: *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, Translated by S. G. Perera, Colombo, 1830, 3 Vols.

Detailed description of Ceylon and account of Portuguese rule there, written by a Portuguese Jesuit Priest in the year 1680. Sections on the Tamil inhabitants, the relations of the Tamil Kingdom of Jaffnapatnam with the Portuguese and its conquest by the latter. Valuable light on spread of Catholicism among the Tamils of Ceylon.-S. A.

12. V. KANAKASABHAI: *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago;* Second Edition, Madras, 1956, pp. MXII + 264.

Political economic and social history of the Tamil Kingdom of the first century A. D , written in 1904 and therefore views somewhat outdated.-S.A.

II

ARCHAEOLOGY

1. CASAL, *J.* M., *Fouilles de Virampatnam Arikamedu*, Rapport de l'Inde et de I occident aux environs de l'ére chrétienne, en collaboration avec Geneviéve Casal, Publication de la Commission des Fouilles archéologiques, Fouilles de l'Inde, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1949, 4 pp. 71, pl. 24.

French : Excavations at Arikamedu, near Pondichery revealing Roman Remains

2. FAUCHEX, L., *Une vieille cite indienne près de Pondichèry:* Virampatnam, Pondichéry, Impremerie de la Mission, 1946, 8° pp. 19.

(French: An old Indian city in the neighbourhood of Pondichery. Observations on the site later called "Arikamedu.")-J. F.

3. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL, G., *Archèologie du Sud l'Inde*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliòthèque d'Etudes, tomes 26-27, Paris, Geuthner, 1914, 8° I. *Architecture*, pp. 192, pl. 74. fig. 71, II. *Iconographie*, pp. 152, pl. 44, fig. 40.

(French: Archaeology of Southern India, I. Architecture, II. Iconography) Archaeology of Tamilnad. Volume 2, translated into English by A. C. Martin, Iconography of Southern India, Paris, Geuthner, 1937, 8° pp. 139, pl. 78, fig. 40.-J.F.

4. PATTABIRAMIN, P. Z.; *Trouvailles de Nedoungâdou, Tandavas de Siva*, Préface par K. A. Nilakanta, Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1950, 8° pp. XXII+88, pl. 46.

(French: Findings at Nedungâdu. Siva's Tandavas)

- - 2éme édition, Pondichèry, 1956, 8° pp. XXII+88, pl. 46. -J.F.

5. PATTABIRAMIN, P.Z., *Les fouilles d'Arikamedou* (Podouké) Présentation par C.F. Baron, Préface by K. A-Nilakanta Sastri, Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1946, 8° pp. XVI+60, pl. 31, tabl. 2.

(French: The excavations at Arikamedu (Podouké) Excavations from 1941 to 1945. J. F.

6. PATTABIRAMIN, P. Z., *Temple de Madagadipattou* (985-1014 A. D.), Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1951, 8° pp. XX+139, pl. 26, fig. 12.

(French: Temple at Madagadipattou, 985-1014 A. D.)-J. F.

7. PATTABIRAMIN, P.Z., Quatre vieux temples des Environs de Pondichéry, Extrait de la Revue Historique de l'Inde francaise VII, Pondichéry, Imprimerie de Sri Aurobindo Ashram; 1948 8° pp. 60, pl. 42.

(French: Four old temples in the neighbourhood of Pondichery).-J. F.

III

ART AND SCULPTURE

1. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, A. K., *The Dance of Shiva*, Asia Publishing House, pp. 196, Bombay, 1956. Illustrated.

The Nataraja iconography explained from Tamil texts in an essay of the same title—X.S.T.

2. ARAVAMUTHAN, T. G., *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, The India Society, pp. XVI + 100; 3 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, 1931, Plates and Illustrations, 33.

A pioneer catalogue study of the Pallava, Chola and Vijayanagar periods; includes Tamil literary evidence.—X.S.T.

3 PERCY BROWN: *Indian Architecture*, 2 Vols. with drawings, photographs, maps Taraporavala, Bombay, 1942.

Vol. I : Buddhist and Hindu, pp. XIV + 262, 163 plates.
Vol. II : The Islamic Period, pp. XIV. + 146, 100 plates.

For a long time a definitive work, deals adequately also with all periods of South India X.S.T.

4. LOUIS FREDERIC: *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, Thames and Hudson, pp. 464, London, 1959. Maps, Plans and Drawings 24, Reproductions: 24. Translated from the French by Eva M. Hoeykaas and A. H. Christie, French edition, 1959. Arts et Metiers Graphiques, Paris.

Short general introductions on religious architecture with brief notes explaining the plates; provides "essential documentation for the art historian" and utilises Tamil literature and history to explain the art developments in the South and their importance in the art history of India - X.S.T.

5. HEINRICH ZIMMER: *The Art of Indian Asia*, Its mythology and transformations, Two volumes, New York, Pantheon Books, 1955. Vol. I, Text, pp, XIII+465; Vol, II, Plates, pp. XVIII+614.

Magnificent volumes giving both in text and plates due prominence to Pre-Aryan and South Indian elements in architecture, sculpture, bronze-casting and ideals of beauty. Interprets the basis of Indian mythology and its influence in art in S. E. Asia. Separates the Dravidian artistic traditions from the Aryan, and establishes the delicacy and refinement of Pallava art and its chamber music-like qualities-X S. T.

TAMIL EDUCATION BOARD

தமிழ்க் கல்விக் குழு

At an assembly of prominent members of the Tamil Community, representative of most of the Tamil Cultural associations, convened by the Tamil poet and teacher, Mr. Soopaya Moodaliar, the Tamil Education Board was constituted under the chairmanship of the Honourable Vele Govindan, M.B.E., M.L.C., on Sun-

day the 4th February 1962, at Port Louis, Mauritius, with a view to taking advantage of the advice and help of the Tamizhaha Pulavar Kuzhu of Trichy for the dissemination and fostering of Tamil Literature and Culture in the country.

A message of good wishes from Dr. M. Varadharajan addressed to the Tamils of Mauritius was read amidst great applause.

It was hoped that other Tamil organisations from Madras will extend their help to the Tamil Education Board of Mauritius in the great task that is confronting them for the propagation of Tamil.

The Tamizhaha Pulavar Kuzhu has already promised to donate Tamil books and to send two lecturers to the Tamil Education Board whose address is: Tamil Education Board, C/o Young Men's Hindu Association, 36, Remy Cellier Street, Port Louis. Mauritius.

—From our Mauritius correspondent

A Description of the Tamils of Ceylon

JAMES SELKIRK

The Rev. James Selkirk wrote his book "Recollections of Ceylon" after nearly thirteen years residence in the island. The following extracts are taken from pp. 66-69 of his book. (J. Hatchard and Son, 187 Piccadilly, London, 1844.)

CASTES

"The TAMULIANS inhabit all the eastern coast, from Battakalo northward to Jaffna, and from Jaffna southward along the western coast to Putlam. The general opinion respecting them is, that they at first came over into the island from the opposite coast of India. They are a more enterprising, active, and industrious people than the Singhalese, and are possessed of equal selfishness. They are divided into four principal tribes.

"The first is called Pirama. The people of this tribe, besides being alone permitted to officiate as priests, are chiefly engaged in agriculture or commerce. They are religiously divided into three following sects.

1. The worshippers of fire.
2. The worshippers of Siva.
3. The worshippers of Vishnu.

"Those of the second tribe are called Katriyas, and constitute the royal race of warriors. This tribe, however, though recognised in their classification, exists not in Ceylon.

"Those of the third tribe are called Vaisyas, and constitute the nobility. They are divided into (1) Merchants, commonly called Chetties, the most honourable and industrious, and enterprising race of men on the island. (2) Husbandmen. (3) Herdsmen.

"Those of the fourth tribe are called Sutras, and on them devolve all the lower offices of life. They are likewise bound to serve the three preceding classes of Vaisyas during the public ceremonies, and are incapable of raising themselves to any superior rank. They are divided into two classes, the one including all kinds of domestic servants, and the other all kinds of town or public servants. The domestic servants are eighteen in number.

1. Barbers
2. Heralds, who announce weddings and deaths.
3. Blacksmiths
4. Goldsmiths
5. Brass founders
6. Carpenters
7. Masons
8. Game keepers
9. Tailors
10. Oil-makers
11. Betel sellers
12. Lime burners
13. Watchmen
14. Flower sellers
15. Burners of dead bodies
16. Potters
17. Chank blowers
18. Washermen

"The town or public servants are forty-five in number:—

1. Woollen drapers

2-9. Fishers and boatmen

10. Huntsmen
11. Painters
12. Basket-makers
13. Wood men
14. Sifters
15. Scabbard-makers
16. Doctors
17. Stage-players
18. Rope-dancers
19. Snake-dancers

20. Lyrists
21. Grooms
22, 23. Elephant-keepers
24-26. Employed in making toddy and sugar
27. Arrack-makers
28. Dyers
29, 30. Pond-diggers
31. Salt-makers
32-36. Weavers
37. Slaves to the higher orders
38. Makers of dry measures
39. Mat-makers
40. Palankeen-bearers
41. Soothsayers
42, 43. Shoe and sandal-makers
44. Tomtom-beaters, pariors
45. Ploughmen of the lower orders.

DRESS AND CUSTOMS

"The Tamulians in general are a stouter and more active race of men than the Singhalese. They are less cringing in their manner, more independent and adventurous, and more faithful servants and subjects of government. Many of the Chetties are employed by merchants and others in various parts of the island as Konnikkopolies, that is, collectors of their bills, at a certain percentage; and in this way a great deal of money from time to time passes through their hands, and they are very seldom found dishonest. The native merchants are almost all of this class. They deal largely in cloths, rice, &c. The dress of the men is a long piece of white muslin or calico tied round their bodies neatly and gracefully, and reaching down to the ankles, and a jacket somewhat like the one worn by the Singhalese. They wear turbans, and have large bunches of earrings, in each ear four or five rings, the smallest about two inches and the largest about three inches in diameter. These sometimes reach as low as their shoulders, and make the aperture in the ear very large. They generally have a long muslin scarf thrown

over one shoulder, and reaching to the ground behind and before. The poorer classes have fewer earrings, and those of smaller dimensions and a great many have none at all. They also go without any covering on the upper part of their bodies. Their hair, too, is carelessly fastened up; sometimes the cundy is made on the top of the head, or on one side above the ear; and several have their heads shaven, except a lock at the crown.

"The dress of the women consists of a single piece of white cloth wound round the waist, and brought up across the breasts and over the shoulder, and tucked into the comboy. Their heads are without any covering; their hair is turned up and fastened in a cundy. It is quite astonishing to see the quantities of jewels worn by some of the women. Besides a necklace, often very valuable, they have rings in the top as well as in the lower part of their ears, gold ornaments in one of their nostrils, bracelets, and rings on their ankles, fingers, and toes (for they are shoeless). Like the children of the Singhalese, those of the Tamulians go naked till they are five or six years of age, having nothing more than a silver chain, sometimes with a small bell hanging to it in front, or a small piece of cord tied round their loins."

News and Notes

LECTURES

Mr. William Willetts, M.A., (Lond.) B.A., (Oxon.), B.Sc., (Bristol), delivered two public lectures on 'THE CORAMANDAL COAST' under the auspices of the Academy of Tamil Culture on the 4th and 22nd of December 1961, at the University Buildings, Madras,

Rao Sahib N. Murugesa Mudaliar, B.A., Retired Deputy Secretary to Government, Madras, delivered a public lecture on 'TODA GOD-NAMES' on the 31st January 1962, at 5-30 p.m., at the University Buildings.

RECEPTION TO STAFF AND STUDENT DELEGATES FROM MALAYA

A reception was accorded on the 21st of February 1962, in the New Woodlands, Madras, to the staff and students of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, who were touring India under the auspices of the Tamil Language Society of the University of Malaya.

The following members represented the delegation :

Amar Singh, Balabaskharan, Chakravarthy, Eddy Wee, Indra Pillai (Miss.), Killingley D. H. (Lecturer), Lal Kumar, Mohammed Kamaruddin (Leader), Mohamed Yahya Bin Yan, Navamani, S. (Miss.), Nor Aziah (Miss), Raghavan, E. Nair (Co-Leader), Raghbir Kaur (Miss), Rajendra (Co-Leader), Ravindranathan, K., Dr. Jha (Lecturer), Richard Job, Uma Devi Murugesu, E.Sa. Viswanathan (Lecturer).

After tea, a meeting was held under the presidentship of Prof. M. Varadharajanar. The President

explained to the members the aims and objectives of the Academy and expressed his hope that such delegations would help in establishing friendship between countries. The President wished them success in their tour programme in India.

Dr. K. K. Pillay, Professor of History, University of Madras, gave a talk on the Historical and Cultural contacts between Malaya and India.

Mr. Mohamed Kamaruddin, Leader of the party, introduced the members of the delegation earlier and expressed his thanks on behalf of the delegation to the Academy of Tamil Culture for the reception accorded to them.

Later there were very many questions and answers exchanged freely among the members present.

The Secretary proposed a vote of thanks.

STUDY OF TAMIL IN NORTH INDIA

Sir,

As a Bengali, I was very much amazed to see the catholic spirit of the Tamilians in honouring the great Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore, during the past two months. I attended at different places of the city the plays of Tagore staged in Tamil, Bengali and Sanskrit all ably handled by Tamilians and I was overwhelmed beyond words to observe their true devotion and enthusiasm.

As a resident of this part of our sub-continent for the past decade or so, I can assert with confidence that Tamil Nad stands foremost in exhibiting the best form of the emotional integration of our nation.

Gandhiji, Nethaji, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda, Tagore and others of North India are household words in this State. What else is needed to create happy national cohesion?

I therefore feel that it is only in the North there is much to be done in this direction. For that purpose I wish to make the following suggestions: Three languages, viz., English, Hindi and Tamil should be declared as the official languages of the Indian Union. The tri-lingual formula is already in force in almost all the States and it will be only proper if the same is extended to the Centre also.

Because Hindi is spoken by a vast majority of people in the North, it alone cannot be the official language of the Union. In the USSR, since no other language has developed, Russian is the only official language. But in Switzerland there are three official languages, because all of them are developed. The people call themselves "Swiss" proudly and are honoured everywhere in the world. That small nation should be the best model for us to emulate as far as the language problem is concerned.

Moreover, Hindi is a language of comparatively recent origin, possessing a weak grammar, whereas Tamil is the most ancient of all the spoken languages of India. Tamil possesses a higly developed literature and a finely systematised grammar. Classical Tamil works like "Pura Nanuru", "Kural", etc., are fit to be studied widely as national works.

I understand that Tamil is being studied with interest in foreign countries like Russia and America. But it is a pity that the people of North India are still

ignorant of this great language of our country, even after 14 years of independence.

Madras. B. K. Sen.

—Extract from a Letter to 'The Hindu', 20—12—1961.

THE LATE PROF. (MRS) AUDILAKSHMI ANJANEYULU

The death occured in Leningrad of Mrs. Audilakshmi Anajaneyulu, Professor of Tamil and Telugu at the Leningrad State University, recently (July 30th) at the age of 33. She was the wife of Mr. D. Anjaneyulu, Editor in charge of 'VANI', All India Radio, Madras.

After taking the M.A. Degree in Telugu language and literature from Presidency College, she was awarded the Government of India scholarship in the Humanities for research work in the Madras University. She was engaged for some years in a comparative study of Tamil and Telugu literatures under the guidance of the late Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai. For her thesis on "*Saivism in Telugu*" she was awarded the M. Litt. Degree in 1957, by the University of Madras.

Early in 1958 she was chosen by the Government of India for the assignment in the Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad University. She was an accomplished linguist who knew Russian, Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali, besides her native Telugu and Tamil. She was the author of a volume of verses entitled 'Panchamrutham' celebrating the lives of some heroines of Indian history. She was a contributor to "Tamil Culture".

PLEA FOR BETTER TAMIL RESEARCH

Madras, March 12. Speaking at a meeting held under the auspices of the Tamil Writers' Association in Triplicane this evening, the Rev. Xavier S. Thani-nayagam, Professor of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, said the Malayan University was at present engaged in compiling a bibliography of books on Tamil language, culture, literature etc., in languages other than Tamil. According to him, there were nearly 2,000 books of such a nature. The speaker brought out the various similarities between the Tamilians and people in some of the South-East Asian countries like Cambodia, Viet Nam and Thailand in their social habits, language, ways of life, etc. He said there was scope for research in this direction and it was necessary for one going in for research to have a knowledge of languages like Sanskrit and French.

The speaker regretted that not much had been done in the field of research as far as Tamil was concerned, and said that more and more scholars and authors of our country should come forward to spread the Tamil culture and make known the greatness of Tamil literature. He stressed that Tamil writers should study the literature in other languages. Only then, he added, there would be better scope for the Tamil language to develop. Making a reference to books in Tamil on general subjects, Rev. Thaninayagam said that while there were books suitable for children in the age groups 6-12, books on subjects suited for boys of high school going age were lacking.

Mr. Anbu Ganapathi, President of the Association, presided over the meeting. Mr. P. Balasubramaniam, Secretary, proposed a vote of thanks.

—The 'Hindu', 14-3-62.

TAMIL STUDIES IN CHICAGO

Madras Professor to Inaugurate Course

Annamalainagar, Mar. 21: Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Head of the Department of Tamil, Annamalai University, is leaving for the U.S.A. today.

He has been appointed visiting professor at the University of Chicago, where he will inaugurate a course in Tamil studies.

During his three months stay in the U.S.A. he will also visit other American universities and deliver a series of lectures on Tamil language and literature.

—The 'Mail', 22-3-62

CHICAGO VARSITY TAMIL DEPT.

Meenakshisundaram to Inaugurate

Madras. March 22: Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Professor of Linguistics and Tamil at the Annamalai University, who has been invited by the Chicago University to inaugurate their Department's Tamil studies, left this afternoon for Delhi, *en route* to the U. S.

Prof. Meenakshisundaram will be the visiting Professor of Tamil literature and Language at the Chicago University between March 26 and June 9, 1962, during which he will deliver a series of ten lectures on the history of Tamil literature and another ten lectures on the history of the Tamil language.

—The 'Hindu', 23-3-62.

BHARATI'S POEMS

Russia Interested in Translation

Madras, Mar. 21: Madame Nina Popova, President of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Society for cultural relations with foreign countries and member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said yesterday that the friendship between India and the Soviet Union not only helped the people of these two countries but also helped the whole humanity in preserving and consolidating peace all over the world.

Madame Nina, leader of the three-member delegation to Madras to participate in the 10th anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, was given a reception.

She stated that some of the poems of Subramania Bharati were translated recently into Russian language for publication. Some of the Indologists were also carrying on research work on *Kural.*

—The 'Mail', 21-3-1962